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JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

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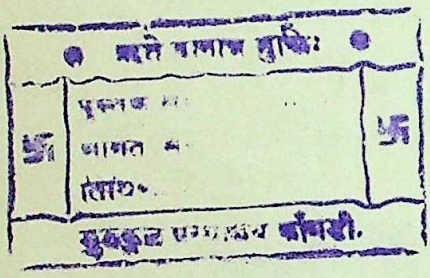

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International Aspects of Sanskritic and Dravidian Civilisation

BY

Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer

It is well known that much of the spade work necessary for understanding the evolution of Indian languages and of Sanskritic and Dravidian civilisation has been accomplished by non-Indian savants. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to assert that in the 18th and 19th centuries fundamental work in Sanskrit was mainly done by Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, Paul-Deussen, Muir, Goldstucker, Max Muller, Monier Williams, Grassmann, Macdonnal, Winternitz, Jacob Gerarrio, and a host of other English, German, French, Russian and American scholars who were, in many ways, assisted by their respective Governments or Universities. In Tamil Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages blazed a trail which was followed by others like Stenkonow who contributed much to the linguistic survey of India. For the Tamil language the work of Perceval, Ellis, Dr. Pope (who was acclaimed as Pope Iyer) Father Beschi (who was given the name Mahamunivar or great sage) and Father Nohli was basic. E. P. Rice and Kittel did similar work for Kannada, Campbell and Brown for Telugu and Gundert for Malayalam. Fortunately, during the last three or four decades, Indian scholars have made notable contributions to research in Sanskrit, Pali and Dravidian linguistic and literary topics; but there was not even a comprehensive standard dictionary of the Tamil language until 1909 when P. Ramanathan, utilising his leisure moments as an Attorney, published his Tamil dictionary. It must be mentioned that the Madras University has embarked on the great task of producing a really Encyclopaedic Tamil lexicon. There has, however, been no work attempted in Tamil comparable with the epoch-making researches and expositions which established the Science of Comparative Philology based on a study of Sanskrit, Old Iranian, Greek, Latin, Old High German, Luthuanian, Celtic and other Indo-European tongues. The need for such research was not felt in

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South India until recently, and successive generations of scholars and pandits confined themselves to the task of commenting textually on the surviving specimens of the literature produced under the auspices of the old Tamil Cultural Academies (or Sangams) as well as devotional poems and hymns. Various philosophic treatises appurtenant to the Saiva and Vaishnava, Skanda and Devi cults were also studied and expounded though without any attempt at historical or even textual criticism. Kanakasabhai Pillai in his "Tamil 1800 Years Ago" was one of the first to travel outside the beaten track, but his was frankly a polemical effort and it suffers from an acute anti-Aryan bias and is sweeping in its generalisations. All the same, it contains an enthusiastic appraisement of early Tamil civilisation. S. Gnanaprakasam's "Sumerian and Tamil", Raja Rao's "Tamil in Ancient Egypt", T. R. Sesha Iyengar's "Dravidian India", K. N. Sivaraja Pillai's "Agastya in Tamil Land" and Ramachandra Dikshitar's "Origin and Spread of Tamil", and especially Gilbert Slater's suggestive brochure on "The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture" as well as P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar's "History of Tamil", are among the recent books that deal in a matter-of-fact and methodical way with problems of ancient Tamil History and civilisation. When the results of the excavations in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in Sind and Punjab respectively disclosed the existence of a hitherto unknown and complex civilisation, and when it was realised that this civilisation bore many resemblances to the Dravidian culture, a new wave of interest swept over the country and the deciphering of the seals and inscriptions found in those localities has quickened the pace of comparative historical and philological research.

One must not omit to mention the valuable contributions made by Professor Seshagiri Sastri to comparative philology though they were fragmentary in character, nor can one ignore the path-finding work of men like Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer, Mr. R. A. Narasimhachariar and Mr. Meenakshisundaram Pillai who helped to discover and kindle an interest in ancient Sangam classics.

Dealing with the Sindh and Punjab excavations, Sir Alexander Cunningham and Messrs. Fleet and Flinders Petrie gave full descriptions of the pottery and other utilitarian and artistic remains and continuous efforts were made to decipher the seals which

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were found in great numbers in these sites. These scholars were succeeded by men like K. P. Jayaswal, A. P. Karmarker and Premnath, who wrote on the Indus Valley Civilisation in comparison with that of Sumeria, Elam and Crete. Swami Sankarananda in his "Rig-Vedic Cult in Pre-historic India" sought to ascribe a wholly Sanskrit or Aryan origin to the newly discovered culture. On the other hand, Sylvain Levi, the French Savant in his "Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley", Dr. Wooley in his "Link between Ur of the Chaldees and Mohenjadaro" and lastly the indefatigable Rev. Father H. Heras in his lectures and books on "Proto Indian Culture" have sought to concentrate on the assumed affinity of the culture of Egypt, Phoenicia and Mesopotamia with the Dravidian. A stupendous task still remains to be performed and a linguistic and artistic survey has to be carried out which may throw light on the contacts and congruences of kindred civilisations ranging in territorial extent from the Mediterranean Sea and the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates and Tigris to South India, Ceylon and the Far East. In an Appendix to the "Tamil Varalaru", Raghava Iyengar has given a list of what he calls "Oppumai Mozhigal" seeking to trace analogies and a possible common origin in respect of Tamil, Somali, Egyptian, Assyrian, Swahili and Pahlevi words. There has been no attempt to deduce any general linguistic law like the Grimm's Law known to European philologists. Father Heras has essayed a preliminary linguistic survey of the Dravidian and Pro-Dravidian tongues, but in the Universities and Schools of Learning in South India very little systematic study has, so far, been attempted in the region of the comparative philology of Dravidian languages.

There have been several conflicting theories relating to the origin of the Tamils and the Tamil language. One set of scholars and writers proceed on the traditional basis that the Vedic Rishi, Agasthya, was the Coloniser of the Tamil land and the originator of Tamil literature. The legend that he 'conquered' or 'humbled' the Vindhya mountain is regarded as signifying that he was the first of the Aryans to cross the Vindhya range. The name Agasthya itself is associated with the South, and Agasthyam is a synonym for the Southern direction in Sanskrit. There is some controversy as to whether there was only one Agasthya, namely the Rishi adverted to in the Rig Veda who was responsible for nearly 200, of the hymns in that Veda, or whether there were three Agas-

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thyas who lived in successive ages and whose names are associated with different literary activities. It is also in dispute as to whether his hermitage was situated near Nasik in the Bombay State or in the Malaya Parvata (the Anamalai range near Travancore). But in spite of all these divergences of opinion, it may be noticed that there is a continuous tradition recognising the influence exercised by a great sage who was both an author and a coloniser and was called Agasthya. It is uniformly recounted that he took part in the labours of the first Sangam or literary Academy of the Tamil country and was responsible for one of the earliest Tamil Grammars which is now lost. It is worthy of remark that the earliest existing Tamil Grammar, Tholkappiyam, acknowledges its debt to a Sanskrit Grammar, Indra. All over South India the tradition has been prevalent for centuries as to the authenticity and the great pioneering work done by Agasthya.

With regard to the original inhabitants of Southern India, no solution has yet been reached, of the controversy whether Dravidians were autochthonous and originated in South India and spread from there to the West and East or whether they were migrants who travelled to India from Mesopotamia or Syria or whether they originated in a great and now submerged continent called Lemuria which is believed to have extended from Africa and Madagascar to Java and Borneo and which was partially destroyed by an oceanic upheaval, over-whelming in the catastrophe the site of the first Tamil Academy, the original Mathurai, far to the south of the present Madura. Recent writers have, with great unanimity, insisted that the Tamil country was the seat and origin of the characteristic religious, artistic and social ideals which radiated to the east and west; and Father Heras, in particular, has been emphasising that it was a Tamil cultural invasion that started from South India, founded the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation and spread that culture through Baluchistan and Persia to Babylon, Assyria and Crete. The term 'OOR' which is a synonym for a town is argued to be the same as 'UR' of the Chaldees and scholars go to the extent of equating the words Druid and Dravida. No definite conclusions can be reached on the material before us which still remains to be analysed and collated, but many data lie ready to hand for utilisation and such material is not confined to the remains of pottery and weapons and household articles but relate also to seals and inscriptions

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which have to be patiently deciphered and interpreted with the same patience and accuracy as were employed in the cases of the pyramids of Egypt and the brick tablets of Mesopotamia. A series of attempts has been made to elucidate the alphabet of the lettering discovered in the seals and inscriptions of the Punjab and Sindh cities, but the task is far from completion. In the meanwhile, some rather purposeless discussions have also been taking place as to whether the Aryans and the Dravidians were separate and antagonistic races or whether the Dravidians were the Asuras and the "noseless" Dasyus adverted to in the Rig Veda. Persons who have started these pre-historic hares do not always seem to realise that the original Dasyus were simply dissidents or protestants who would not follow the sacrificial and other rites laid down in the Vedas. Such groups were not necessarily different racially from the so-called Aryans. A comparison of the Rig Veda and the Zendavesta would make it clear that originally the word "Asura" itself (which latterly in Sanskrit and Tamil came to mean a demon) means a powerful and brilliant being. In truth, the word 'Asura' is used in the Rig Veda in connection with Divinities like Agni, Indra, Varuna, Soma, the Vasus, Mithra, Vayu, Rudra and Surya. Asura or Ahura in Persian, is found in the expression Ahuramazda, the synonym for the Supreme Being and in the Vedas originally the term Asura was indifferently used for all powerful persons whether they be Vritras or Devas. Later on, the word took a different signification and the evolution of the words, Asura and Deva followed different paths. In effect, what Fowler and Skeat have described as the "degradation" of words was the process that took place in respect of terms like Asura and Yaksha. Asura in Zendavesta retains the original connotation of goodness and power. Asura, in later Sanskrit literature, means a powerful and evil being. Deva, in Sanskrit, is the shining one and is used to describe Divinities. Deva, in the Parsi scripture, is the evil one. These developments seem to show that when the Persian and Aryan groups separated, they did so in conflict with each other and each tribe's God became the other's devil. In relation to the Dravidians, the question is hardly relevant, because in the Rig Veda the Aryans are supposed to have over-run the noseless Dasyus (Anasikas) but the Tamils were never snub-nosed. Mr. Raghava Iyengar, in his Tamil Varalaru, has taken great pains to show that the Tamilian literature never approved

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of snub-noses. He cites many authorities to show that the typical nose of the Dravida is compared to the flower, Kumizhambu, or the flower of the Sesamum and a flat nose was always derided. As a matter of fact, the Dravidian physiognomy and features are not essentially different from the Aryan. The case is different with the tribes called Aborigines—the Kotahs, Irulas and Kurumbas and the tree-dwellers of the Malabar coast. Quite apart from these interesting but inconclusive discussions, it may be noticed that there was admittedly a large admixture of Aryans and non-Aryans, for, there are accounts in the Pancha Vimsa Brahmana and Atharva Veda of a sacrifice called 'Vratya Sthoma' whose purpose was the conversion of Vratyas or non-Aryans to Aryan status. It would be a very interesting line of research to trace the history of words like Deva, Asura, Vrita, Dasyu, Vratya and Dasa by way of elucidating the contacts and conflicts among several racial groups in India and especially in the South. One positive proof of the coalescence of Aryan and Dravidian ideas is furnished by the scornful description in the Vedas of tribes who are abusively described as Sisne-deva (worshippers of the phallus). It is an illuminating circumstance that the Mohenjo-Daro remains prove indubitably that the worship of the Linga or phallus and of the Mother Goddess and of the three-headed prototype of Siva, was extensively practised in the Indus Valley. The worship of the Devi and of Siva typified by the Linga has now extended itself all over the country and is equally in vogue amongst the so-called Dravidians and the so-called Aryans. The rapid spread of Dravidian words and ideas and their coalescence with Sanskritic culture patterns are features which are sometimes ignored but cannot be forgotten. The word 'Sindhu' is used as a synonym for the Indus river and also as the name of a kind of muslin which was produced in India from pristine times and exported to other countries during many centuries before Christ. It has been claimed that the word 'Sindhu' is Dravidian in origin. Sindhu, in modern Tamil, is a synonym for a river or sea and is, in all probability, connected with Sindippu or Sinduthal, namely, sprinkling or moistening. The most constant symbol for Divinity that is noticed in Mohenjo-Daro is that of the three-faced figure AAN, the Supreme God of the people of the Indus Valley. AAN, in modern Tamil, means man, but in its compound form 'Andavan' and 'Andal' is associated with the Supreme Being in the male

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and female aspects. The name AAN is widely prevalent in Babylon, Assyria and Crete and the theory has been propounded that there was a proto-Dravidian language which was spoken all over India and that the peoples who spoke that language created great city cultures in Punjab and Sindh and beyond the shores of India long before the influx of the Aryan civilisation. On the other hand, there are those who deny any separateness between the Dravidians and the Aryans and who claim that they merely represent two separate branches of the same race isolated geographically but nearly related to each other. It is being continuously proved that the ancient nations of the world were not really segregated and that there have been extensive migrations of mankind and admixtures of cultures. The Indian Puranas which were formerly regarded as purely mythological or fantastic figments of the imagination, are now being increasingly recognised to be reliable records of race migrations and great events though their chronology may be inexact according to modern standards. Many of these Puranas furnish evidence of such migrations as have been referred to above. Col. Wilford has tried to prove that Egypt was well known to ancient India and he points to the hawk emblem of Horus, the Sun and its close connection with Garuda who is associated with Vishnu. It is also well known that Vishnu is identified in the Rig Veda with Surya or the Sun. Col. Wilford also refers to the story in the Adiparva of the Mahabharata, of Kadru, mother of the Nagas, asking Garuda to convey her children across the ocean to a distant region called Ramaniyaka which is equated with Egypt. From this tradition, it is inferred that there were settlers in Egypt that belonged to the Naga tribe. It is further probable that the country now named Mekran, south of Baluchistan, was settled by Dravidian races. Even at the time of Alexander the Great's invasion, it is said to have been peopled by 'Aravas', which is even now a common word for the Tamilians. The Egyptian word for the Sun is a variant of "RA". RA, in Tamil, does not now exist as a separate word but is the second part of the word IRA or ILRA or IRAVU—'no Sun' or night. Words like CA, meaning death and also meaning 'lying on one side' now occurring in the words CAIDAL occurred both in Egypt and in Mohenjo-Daro inscriptions as well as words like ALA (wave), AMMA (mother), AMMAN which, in Tamil, means both father and uncle, are noticed in Tamil and Egyptian. ULA (to possess), UDAI (dress)

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may also be referred to as common words. What is equally noteworthy is that the formation of the plural (for expressing a multitude) by repeating the same noun is common to Tamil and Egyptian, like the word PARPALA (many). As in the case of the widespread use of the words, Devas and Asuras, the word AAN, already referred to, may also be noticed. The Anus are supposed in the Puranas to be of *mlecha* tribes. In Persian, the worshippers of AAN were called Anareoi. The Anumins was also the name of an Egyptian tribe and the word occurs in the Bible, Genesis Ch. X, verse 13. It may also be remembered that the Egyptians had a continuous tradition that they originally came from a land which they called Punt. Until recently, this was thought to be Somaliland but it is now being identified with Socotra, a halting place for the migrants from India. The Pharaonic usage of a girl marrying a maternal uncle and a sister marrying a brother seems to have been an ancient custom observed by certain communities both in India and in Egypt.

The Pharaohs, the rulers of Egypt, were almost obliged to marry their sisters and it is useful in this connection to remember the 10th Mandala of the Rig Veda where, in a conversation between Yama and his sister Yami, this practice of marrying one's sister is referred to and condemned. In the Buddhist Dighanikaya, it is stated that the founder of the Sakya dynasty married his own sister, and Professor Rajwade has collected many instances of such marriages beginning with the marriage of Daksha and his sister. Also in the Mahabharata, Adiparva, Pandu explains to his wife, Kunthi, in relation to Droupadi's marriage with the five brothers that the marriage of brother and sister was the custom of certain ages and countries and he adds the argument that these usages were followed by birds and beasts who are "free from passion".

The God Min in Egypt was the original form of Ammon, the Lord of Heaven and was the Menes of the Greeks. It means shining and is the equivalent of MIN in Tamil which also means shining and occurs in such words as MINNAL which, in Tamil, means both light and lightning. The word became modified into 'Minos' in Crete.

Whether or not the migrations of the Dravidians reached the Mediterranean shores and whether or not the Phoenicians were

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really the Pani tribes referred to in the Rig Veda as claimed by recent investigators, it is curious that in an instruction of the Pharoah of the 9th dynasty to his son, he describes the country of the origin of the Egyptians and refers to its numerous trees, many rivers and mountains. Patala is described as the realm of the Nagas in Puranic literature. In ancient Egyptian literature, Patala, the port of their origin, is described as situated far to the East and in a delta formed by the branches of many rivers and covered with trees. Could it be the Indus as surmised by some recent writers?

What has been attempted in the foregoing paragraphs is not the formulation of any theory nor even the suggestion of a possible solution to the problems of Dravidian racial, and linguistic origins and of Aryan and Dravidian contacts. These problems have only recently received scientific attention from Indian and Western savants. It is essential that isolated labours in the fields of philology, semantics, the decipherment of seals and inscriptions and the analysis of Puranic and pristine legends and traditions should be correlated and a comparative study attempted of Aryan, Dravidian Mesopotamian, Cretan and Egyptian data.

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Archaeology and Saiva Tradition in Indo-China

BY

Dr. B. N. Puri, M.A., B.Litt. (Oxon), D.Phil. (Oxon)

The wave of Brahmanical religion, ritual and thought seems to have swept over Malaya, Indonesia and Indo-China more or less at the same time. The setting up of the Hindu kingdoms synchronised with the expansion of their religion and culture. The Kutie inscriptions in Borneo,[1] roughly of the fourth century A.D., as well as the Kombeng finds[2]—twelve sandstone images including those of Śiva, Geṇeśa, Nandī, Agastya, Nandīśvara, Brahmā, Skanda, and Mahākāla, a little to the north of the former—suggest that by that time Hinduism and Hindu states in the Far East were firmly established.

Champa (Annam) and Kambuja (Cambodia) in Indo-China came under Brahmanical influence with the foundation of the Kauṇḍinya Kingdom in Fu-nan,[3] and that of Śrī Māra of the Vo-Canh inscription,[4] in the region later known as Kauthara. It is, however, from the fifth century A.D.—based on the paleography of the inscription—that Bhadravarman by erecting a temple of Śiva at Myson with the Liṅga named after him—Bhadreśvarasvāmin—accorded to Saivism the status of State religion. This temple and its sanctuary became the national shrine of the Chams, and its Liṅga deity continued to enjoy the patronage of the Cham rulers who created endowments for it. They even set up another Liṅga when the earlier one was removed by the invaders to their country. In Kambujadeśa as well Saivism was the State religion, and this god was invoked by the Buddhist kings as well. Here

1. Coedes: *Les Etats Hindouises* (Henceforth Etats), p. 91, and other references.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 92. See also Gangoly 'On some Hindu relics in Borneo' *J.G.I.S.* III. 1936, p. 97.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 74. For a comprehensive history of Fu-Nan, see Pellit: *BEFEO.* III. Majumdar: Kambujadesa.

4. Majumdar: *'Champa'*. Part III. No. 1. For the history of the endowments made by Cham rulers for this temple. See No. 4, 5, 7, 17, 31.

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the setting up of the Liṅga of the Deity was an important feature of the cult of Devarāja. The Liṅga form of Śaiva worship, and its setting up by many rulers are noticed in several inscriptions from the time of Citrasena (Mahendravarman) in the early seventh century A.D.[5]

The worship of Śiva in pantheistic and Liṅga form, his position as the National deity, legends associated with the god, Śiva Śakti and Saiva gods, Śiva as a compound deity with Vishṇu, and Saiva orders are some of the points for making an analytical study of Saivism in Indo-China.

Śiva as a national deity:

Śiva, noted for his benign and kind nature, the deliverer from the ocean of existence,[6] but equally dreadful as the destroyer of the Universe[7] is described as the National deity in both the countries. The principal group of temples in Champa—those at Myson and Po-Nagar are dedicated to him. He is considered as the titular deity both of the city and the kingdom of Champa of which the origin is traced from him through Uroja.[8] Various names are given to him in inscriptions—Maheśvara, Mahādeva, Īśāna, Śambhu, Śaṅkara, Śarva, Rudra, Bhava and Pāśupati.[9] In the Liṅga form too he is given names such as Mahāliṅgeśvara, Śivaliṅgeśvara, Mahāśivalingesvara,[10] etc. He is also mentioned as 'the Chief of the Trinity' and 'the supreme of the gods', in a large number of inscriptions, and is extolled and venerated by Brahma, Vishnu and Indra.[11] He is also endowed with a number of attributes, such as the creator, the protector, and the destroyer of the world, with no beginning or end.

The recognition of Śiva as the supreme deity, the ultimate spirit from which both Brahma and Vishṇu emanated, is unquestioned in the ancient history of Kambujadesa. He is the presiding deity of the Bayon. The four heads surmounting the forty towers

5. Majumdar: *Kambuja Inscriptions* (Henceforth *MKI*) No. 7.
6. Majumdar: *Champa* (Henceforth *MCM*), No. 12. Vv. 27-28.
7. *Ibid.*, No. 73, V. 1.
8. *Ibid.*, V. 3.
9. *Op. cit.*, No. 4, 6, 20, 22, 28, 79, 17, 26.
10. *Ibid.*, No. 32, 35, 39.
11. *Ibid.*, No. 16, V. 1, No. 4, V. 1, 32 V. 1.

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formerly supposed to represent Brahmā are, according to Elliot,[12] meant for Liṅgas bearing the four faces of Śiva with three eyes in each head. An inscription refers to Śiva and his eight forms,[13] while another calls him *Vibhu*, the omnipresent, Pārabrahma, Jagatpati and Pāśupati.[14] He is known by several names, such a Rudra, Śambhu, Girīśa, Tryambaka, Śaṁkara, Māheśvara, Iśāna, and certain others given after the donors, like Piṅgaleśvara, Śiddheśvara, Kadambeśvara.[15]

Śiva in his Pantheistic form:

Although the setting of the Śiva Liṅga in temples was widely encouraged by the Royalty—both in Champa and Kambujadesa—Śiva was also worshipped in his Pantheistic form, as is evident from the inscriptions as well as statues of Śiva found in those countries. The best specimens are the two famous statues of standing Śiva in Myson A4 and C temples. Śiva in his Tāṇḍavanṛitya, or dancing pose, from Binh-Dinh and also in Padmāsana.[16] Two mutilated early Śiva images from Tra-kieu may also be mentioned.[17] These images are more decorated with rich curls of matted hair magnificently arranged in conical shape, with a *mukuta*—crown covering the upper part, and nagas as ear ornaments and sacred thread. The Myson images are much simpler in design and less decorated. On the Tympanum the god is depicted as *dvarapāla* with a terrible appearance, armed with a club, wearing a crown, bracelets of serpents, and garland of skulls.[18] Śiva in his benign and dreadful forms was well-known. Some of the episodes connected with him in Indian mythology are also related in inscriptions in Champa and were not unknown in Kambujadeśa. The famous episode of burning the cupid to ashes is repeated in several inscriptions.[19] The details of the destruction of Tripura closely agree with those given in the Mahābhārata.[20] So also the story of Upamanyu

12. *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 115.
13. Maiumdar: *MKI* No. 50.
14. *Ibid.*,
15. *Ibid.*, Nos. 16, 30, 93.
16. *MCM*: p. 177, quoting Perentier *I.C.* Vol. 1, fig. 78, 79, II, fig. 71.
17. *Op. cit. Ars Asiatica* Vol. IV, pl. xxii.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
19. *Ibid.*, Nos. 17, 21, 24, 36. 41, 74.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 17, Vol. 4, cf. Anusasana, Vv. 7458ff.

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related in the Anuśāśanaparva of the Mahābhārata extolling Mahādeva in terms of superiority, above all other gods including Brahma and Vishṇu, is related in an inscription. Another story from the Liṅgapurāṇa describing the contest for supremacy between Brahma and Vishṇu and their failure to trace the source of the Liṅga is noticed in an inscription[21] from Champa. These references suggest that the traditional accounts about Śiva and his greatness were well-known.

In Kambujadesa we notice references in several inscriptions, to Śiva worshipped in human form and his statues have also been found. The famous Vat Vihar inscription[22] dated in the Śaka year 535 refers to a temple containing fine sculpture of Śiva and Pārvatī, the latter seated on the left thigh of the god. King Indradeva also installed the statues of Śiva and three of Devi in A.D. 879.[23] A sage named Amarabhava who was especially honoured by Yaśovarman and Indravarman made an image of Śiva out of the golden disc, of the type called Utsavamūrti for taking out in a procession.[24] Jayavarman VII dedicated two golden images of Nāṭyeśvara[25] (dancing Śiva) along with an image of his own brother. The best sculptural representation of Śiva and Pārvatī is on the Tympanum from Banteai Srei showing Rāvaṇa shaking the Kailāsa which may be compared to the similar scene from Ellora and Elephanta.

Śiva in his Liṅga form:

The Liṅga form of Śiva worship was widely practised in both the countries of Indo-China. In Champa the Liṅga shrine set up by King Bhadravarman and known as Bhadresvara shrine towards the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. became the national sanctuary at Myson with a group of other temples. The history of this shrine, its burning sometime between 478 & 578 A.D., the restoration of the Liṅga by Sambhuvarman, and successive endowments by Prakāśadharma, Indravarman II and many others suggest its influence on the Royalty in Champa.[26] The tem-

21. *Ibid.*, Mahabharata Chap. XIV.
22. *Ibid.*, No. 39.
23. *MKI.*, No. 7.
24. *Ibid.*, No. 55.
25. *Ibid.*, No. 75.
26. Ref. No. 4.

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ple and its Liṅga—it is rather strange—suffered at the hands of the Cambodians who too were Śaiva worshippers. The carrying away of the Liṅga might have been for political reasons, namely the removal of the sovereignty of the State.

Besides the Bhadreśvara—Śambhubhadreśvara or Śrīsanabhadreśvara Liṅga shrine, the National sanctuary from the beginning of the fifth to the end of Champa's Hindu History, the Mukha-Liṅga of Śambhu in Po-Nagar named after Vicitrasagara, a legendry figure, was equally important.[27] It suffered damage at the hands of the marauders who came by sea. Destroyed by the savages in 774 A.D., it was restored by Satyavarman, and it came to be known as Satyamukha-Liṅga. Besides these two famous Liṅgas scores of other inscriptions refer to the setting up of other Liṅgas named after their donors.[28]

In Kambujadeśa the Lingas were set up on raised pyramids symbolising the essence of Royalty. This was an important feature of the cult of Devarāja. The Liṅga form of Śiva worship is mentioned in about ten inscriptions of different kings from the time of Citrasena (Mahendravarman) in the early seventh century A.D., to the time of Rājendravarman in the ninth century.[29] These two dates must not be taken as the *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* of the Liṅga worship in ancient Cambodia. An inscription[30] also refers to the setting up of the Suvarna or gold Liṅga and Maṇi or jewel Liṅga. The setting up of the golden images was not unknown in Champa. King Indravarman had set up a golden image of the goddess Bhagavatī of Kauṭhāra.[31]

Sivasakti and Saiva gods:

Śivaśakti is given different names in the records of Champa: Umā, Gaurī, Bhagavatī, Mahābhagavatī, Devī Mahādevī, Mātriliṅgeśvarī and Bhūmiśvari. Like the Shrine of Śambhu, Śambhubhadreśvara, or Śrīsānabhadreśvara of Myson, the temple of Bhagavati

27. *Ibid.*, No. 4, 22.
28. Majumdar: *K.I.* No. 41 B.
29. *MCM*, No. 45.
30. *Ibid.*, Nos. 26, 29, 45. 47, 55, 64, 76, 80, 88.
31. Parmentier, I.C. Vol. I, fig. 79, MCM.. p. 189.

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Kauthāreśvarī in Po-Nagar also became a national shrine. The history of this temple and its idol is given in inscriptions.[32] An old image of Bhagavatī in Kauṭhāra was famous all over the world, for a long time. In 817 A.D. Harivarman made a new stone image of the goddess which was later on plated with gold. The golden image established by Indravarman in 918 A.D. was carried away by the Cambodians sometime between 944 and 947 A.D., and a stone image replaced the former one. This goddess enjoyed the patronage and devotion of the Cham rulers who set up endowments for the temple goddess. The Ardhanārīśvara conception was also known, and an image of *Ardhanārī* was actually found at Dienphue.[33] The female side is emphasised by dress and developed breasts, while the male part is indicated by the fine moustache. The third eye on the forehead is very prominent. Śiva and Śakti are conceived as one and the same—with the same attitudes, attributes and characteristics, as for example, standing on a Nandin at Myson, and carrying a large number of weapons, but sacred thread. The Kambuja inscriptions[34] also mention several names of the Śivaśakti, Durgā, Bhagavatī, Chaturbhujā, Bhavānī, Aparnā and Umā. Images of Durgā were set up by Yaśovarman.[35]

The Śaiva gods who have been noticed in inscriptions and whose images have also been found are Gaṅeśa, Kumāra—Kārttikeya. Separate temples of Gaṅeśa were set up at Po-Nagar and also at Myson.[36] Numerous images of this god have also been found, sometimes in association with those of Bhagavatī and Kārttikeya. He is generally seated on a pedestal, with a corpulent body and the head of an elephant and the end of the trunk is always in the bowl containing sweet balls. He is also shown in standing posture with four arms, one containing a book, and the three others holding a garland, a pen and a rosary, quite in conformity with the Hindu ico-

32. *MKI.* Nos. 61, 40, 27, 73, 78.
33. *Ibid.*, No. 61.
34. *MCM*, Nos. 26, p. 190.
35. *Ibid.*, Nos. 24 & 39.
36. *Ibid.*, No. 9.
37. Permentier, I.C. Vol. II fig. 121-122, MCM. p. 192.
38. *Ibid.*, fig. 123, 136.

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nographic conceptions. Kārttikeya[37] (also known as Kumāra)[38] was equally popular in Champa as a great hero always repelling his enemies—the Asuras. Five images of this deity have been found in Champa.[39] The god has his usual *Vāhana*, the peacock and his favourite weapon *vajra*. Nandi, the vāhana of Śiva and Pārvatī was also well-known, and several images of the same have been found.[40] In Cambodia, except for the references to Gaṇeśa and Skanda in inscriptions[41] the images of these Śaiva gods have not been found.

The Compound-Deity:

As a compound deity—Śiva and Vishnu—He was known by several names in both the countries. One inscription refers to Śaṅkara—Nārāyana.[42] but in Kambujadeśa he is known as Hari-Hara (Hara and Acyuta unified in one body) and Śaṅkara-Nārayana.[43] The statue of Harihara has also been found.

Śaiva orders:

Unfortunately there are no references to Śaiva orders in Champa, but a Kambuja record[44] refers to those of the Pāśupatas and Śivācāras.

A study of the records and archaeological finds from these two countries suggests that Śaivism was not only the dominating religious force, it was also the State religion in both the countries, ensuring of course, full freedom for the other two religious schools, Buddhism and Vaishnavism. It is however, strange to find this force dying with the end of the Hindu rule in both the countries. The famous temples seem to have been turned into Buddhist monasteries. An inscription engraved on an image of Śiva found at Sukhothai,[45] and dated 1510 A.D., points to Buddhism and Brah-

39. *MKI.*, Nos. 60, 48 C.

40. *MCM.*, No. 24 A.

41. *MKI.*, No. 11, 18, 25, Coedes. Etats p. 106 for the reference to Siva—Vishnu images in 'History of the Liang.

42. *MKI.*, No. 4, 129 A. Reference Elliot, Vol. III, p. 114.

43. Elliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 85.

44. *MKI.*, No. 10, p. 11.

45. Elliot: *Op. cit.*

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manism, but as Elliot suggests, 'the feeling was in favour of the former.' At Lophburi ancient buildings originally constructed for the Brahmanic cult were adapted to Buddhist uses. This experiment seems to have been performed on a bigger scale in Indo-China. Did Śaivism lose its force, or did the political power push Buddhism with a fanatical glee resulting in the eclipse of the once dominating factor in the religious life of the people?*

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The Caste system in the Sangam Age

BY

Dr. K. K. Pillay

We see that by the age of the Śaṅgam classics numerous professions had appeared. The question arises as to how far the entry into the various professions was governed by birth. In other words, the question is whether the caste system, the typical institution of Hinduism, had appeared in the Śaṅgam age.

Sometimes a facile view is put forward that the early Tamils, including those of the Śaṅgam age, had no caste distinction and that caste was introduced only by the Āryans. This does not seem to be fully borne out by the known facts. In the first place, though we hear of Brahmins, we do not find the other divisions so clear-cut as in the Āryan system. The Kshatriya is hardly mentioned; on the other hand, peoples called Maṟavar, Maḷavar and others formed the warriors. The duties assigned to the Vaiśyas and Śūdras, too, were discharged by several classes of people. If the four-fold caste system based on colour were introduced systematically by the Āryans these imperfections and lacunae are inexplicable.

Secondly, in the Śaṅgam works themselves, we find the mention of several groups which became the basis of caste organisation in later times. There are numerous divisions which were not contemplated in the Āryan system of caste based on colour.

What appears probable is that there emerged among the Tamils social divisions based upon their occupations which were determined largely by the region in which they lived. Gradually, the Kuṟavar, Āyar, Veḷḷāḷar, Maṟavar and Paradavar, the people of Kuṟiñji, Mullai, Marudam, Pālai and Neydal respectively, tended to become endogamous groups. Pre-marital love and marriage seem to have normally occurred on the basis of these divisions of society. But soon, within the age known as that of the Śaṅgam epoch itself, there appeared subdivisions among the five divisions. These subdivisions were based on further occupational distribution on the one hand and the differences in economic position on

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the other. Thus, for example, a distinction arose between Vēṭṭuvar and Kuṟavar,[1] the former denoting hunters and the latter hillmen pursuing more docile occupations. Moreover, among the Kuṟiñji people who were originally known as Kuṟavar, there appeared another subdivision. Economically the lower section came to be known as Koḍiyar and Koḍichiyar while the upper one was continued to be called Kuṟavar and Kuṟattiyar. Subsequently, groups pursuing auxiliary occupations appear like the smiths and potters, and in course of time, even further subdivisions rise among them. Occupation determined the caste, and sometimes occupations transgressed the barriers of the old regional division. Thus, for example, in Kuṟiñji, spinning of cotton yarn was done. The tending of cows and procuring cow's milk and the milk products were not confined to Mullai. It is learnt that early in the morning the sound of churning curd was heard from the houses in Pālai, and presumably therefore, from those of other regions as well.

We hear of several sub-castes in Puṟanānūṟu, viz., the Mallan, Kūttan, Pāṇan, Kaḍamban, Tuḍiyan, Paṟaiyan, and Pulaiyan. Clearly these groups came into being on the basis of the different occupations pursued by them. But it is important to remember that the same anthology, Puṟanānūṟu, shows that the conception of the four-fold divisions on the Āryan pattern had been known and adopted.[1a] Moreover, Puṟanānūṟu accords a higher social position to the brahmin. Stanza 224 of Puṟanānūṟu says that brahmins performed 'Vēda Vēḷvi' i.e., sacrifices prescribed by the Vēdas. Brahmins devoted their time to learning and the patronage of Vēdic lore.[2] It was believed that those who caused harm to brahmins were heinous sinners.[3] Kings patronized brahmins by bestowing gifts of lands on them.[4] It is interesting to learn that Ahanānūṟu, speaks of the carrying of messages as having been entrusted to brahmins.[5] Tolkāppiyam and Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai

1. *Naṟṟiṇai* 276.
1a. *Puranānūṟu* 183. "Vēṟṟumai Terinda Nārpāluḷḷum".
2. *Ibid.*, 166.
3. *Ibid.*, 34.
4. *Ibid.*, 122.
5. *Ahanānūṟu*: 337.

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also prescribe the role of messengers to brahmins.[6] Padiṟṟuppattu describes their six-fold duties.[7]

It does not, however, seem reasonable to assume that all the brahmins in early Tamil Nad were Āryan immigrants from the north. The persistence even to this day of divisions among the southern brahmins into Vaḍama, Brihacharaṇam and Ashtasahasram shows that only one section of Brahmins had come from the north. The others were all indigenous people of Tamiḻaham who were enlisted in the class of brahmins.

The few who came brought their ideas, institutions and culture with them into the new country. Almost from the outset the brahmin immigrants sought the favour of the ruling king and succeeded in establishing their influence in the royal courts. In due course, this led to their acquisition of a lofty position in society and a splendid opportunity for spreading their ideas. But, on account of the intrinsic strength of the social and cultural set-up of the indigenous people, a total supplanting of the old by the new was impossible. What occurred, therefore, was a social and cultural fusion.

This was reflected in the caste system. The indigenous divisions and sub-divisions based entirely on occupations came to be amalgamated with the four-fold division based on colour. In actuality only the rise of the brahmin caste was the immediate effect of this change. The other subdivisions of the Āryan caste were later attempted to be yoked into the existing order, although the Kshatriya and Vaiśya groups have always remained numerically small.

In this connection it is noteworthy that the advent of the Buddhists and Jains into the Tamil country was indirectly responsible for certain changes in the caste system in the south. There

6. *Tolkāppiyam*: Poruḷadikāram, Sutra 26 "Ōtalum Tūtum Uyarndōr Mēna" "Uyarndōr" mentioned in the *Sūtra* are brahmins only though Nacchinārkiniyar takes it as an equivalent to 'Dvijas'.

7. *Padiṟṟuppattu*: 3rd Decade: 24.
"Ōtal Vēṭṭalavai Pirar ceytali
ta leṟṟalenraru purinotoluki
Aram Puriyantaṇar
Vali Moḻintoḻuki".

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was acute rivalry between Brahmins on the one hand and Buddhists and Jains on the other. An inevitable result of this rivalry was an increase in the rigidity of the caste system. The privileges of caste were jealously guarded. Another result was the growth of numerous subcastes which appeared side by side with the increased rigidity of the system.

As noticed earlier, the caste system assumed an hereditary character even in the Śaṅgam age. But there was a considerable measure of laxity in the choice of occupations. For example, Nakkīrar, the brahmin took to conch-cutting and to the trade on bangles.[8] There were many merchants, artisans and agriculturists besides brahmins who took to the higher arts of learning and composing poems. The kings who were considered Kshatriyas married from the Vellāḷa caste and some Veḷḷāḷas became kings, too.

Attempts to classify the castes on the basis of racial origin have been made by certain writers. V. A. Smith thought that the Villavar or the bowmen were akin to the Bhils and that they, as well as the Mīnavar or fishermen represented the earliest inhabitants and that they were akin to the aboriginal tribes in Malaya, Australia and other countries.

M. Srinivasa Aiyangar thought[9] that the Valayar, Paḷḷar, Śāṇār, Iḍayar, Maṛavar, Paṛaiyar, Kaikkōḷar, Kammāḷar, Vaṇṇiyar, Kaḷḷar and Ambalakkārar were either Nāgas or were descendants of a mixed race of Nāgas and Draviḍians. He holds that Kuṛavas alone represented the pure Nāgas. This seems to be an over-simplification of a complex problem. The Nāgas appear in various places of India and at different stages of her history. Though no satisfactory explanation of their origin has been provided, it seems that they were of proto-Austroloid stock. There appears to have been an admixture of this element with the Draviḍian population. To differentiate the Āryan from the others in South India is not also an easy affair. There had occurred such an admixture of the Āryan and Draviḍian elements that except

8. Those brahmins who failed to perform their legitimate function of performing sacrifices were considered as degraded brahmins and had to take to such work as conch-cutting and bangle-making (Ahanānūṛu 24). Brahmins who deviated from their customary duties were called 'Veḷappārppār'.

9. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Tamil Studies (1914); pp. 61 ff.

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in respect of a small minority, the demarcation is not historically valid. A certain measure of wishful thinking on the one hand, and an attempt to read the present into the past on the other, have vitiated the proper approach to the study of this question of caste, its origin and development.

While one extreme school of writers blames the Āryans for having introduced the caste system into the south, the opposite school holds that the Āryans who came to the south were the harbingers of culture into a barbarous country and all that is admirable in the Tamil civilisation is a consequent product of the advent of the brahmins. Neither of these extreme views is borne out by the known facts of history. We have already seen that caste in its entirety was not an importation from outside. Regarding the other extreme view of the Āryan culture having been the only basis of the Tamil civilisation, as represented by the Śaṅgam classics and the later works, it must be observed that though there is an admixture of Āryan ideas and practices even in the Śaṅgam age, it is incorrect to think that the Āryans came and imported *en bloc* their ideas either totally discarding or destroying the existing culture. In fact the Āryans absorbed some of the ideas and institutions of the Tamils. If the Tamils had not built up a civilisation worth the name before the advent of the Āryans, the later Tamil culture would have been a mere replica of the North Indian civilisation which is not the case, judged from any standard. In fact, it is incorrect to speak of the Āryanisation of South India, as is frequently done. Assuredly the impact of Āryans on Tamiḻaham is not comparable to the Romanisation of Gaul. If an European comparison were to be sought at all, it would be more appropriate to compare it with the Greek contact with the Aegean civilisation as a result of which the later Hellenic culture developed.

That the Āryan culture was not introduced into Tamiḻaham in toto is clear from the circumstance that the distinctive Āryan pattern of caste did not establish itself completely supplanting the existing divisions. As seen earlier, there was an amalgamation of the indigenous and exotic patterns i.e., the occupational and colour bases. This is evident from the Śaṅgam classics which speak of both classes of subdivisions of society. That the exotic system took some time before it could be recognised as the important social factor is seen from the circumstance that while Puṟanānūṟu

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makes just a mention of the fourfold division and the numerous other castes based on occupation, Tolkāppiyam gives a greater prominence to the Āryan or Varṇa basis of caste. However, Tolkāppiyar speaks of the four castes in the Tamilian terminology; he mentions the Andaṇar (brahmins), Araśar (Kings or Kshatriyas), Vaiśyar and Vēḷāḷar (cultivators, corresponding to Śūdras). Obviously he groups the large class of people engaged in various occupations into those of brahmins, rulers, businessmen and Śūdras. He provides details about each of the castes. Brahmins wore the holy thread,[10] had the *Karaham* or the vessel containing sacred water for ceremonial ablutions, the *Mukkōl* or a three-pronged staff and *Manai* a wooden plank to be used as a seat. It is significant that Tolkāppiyam says that the weapons of war are not to be handled by any but the men of the two middle castes i.e., Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas.[11] Śūdras, too, if sent on government business, were entitled to have weapons.[12] Tolkāppiyam states that brahmins could also become kings.[13] These are clear deviations from the traditional prescriptions.

A remarkable feature of Tolkāppiyar's account of the castes does not include the indigenous tribal divisions and subdivisions among castes. This suggests that Tolkāppiyam was concerned with the enforcement of the northern pattern of caste. The only local adaptation he makes is that he equates the Veḷḷāḷas (Veḷāṇmāndar) the cultivators, with the Śūdras.

It is sometimes said that a stanza (335) in Puṟanānūṟu seems to protest against the Āryan system of caste, hoding that Tamiḻaham accepts only the division of the people into four groups viz., Tuḍiyar, Pāṇar, Paṟayar, and Kaḍambar. But the context in which poem is set, as well as the restriction of the local divisions into the four groups mentioned above, show that it does not contain an exhaustive enumeration of all the units in Tamiḻaham. Set in the martial context, the poem speaks only of the martial or warlike sections among the people, and it cannot be taken as an exhaustive

10. *Tolkāppiyam*: Marapiyal 618: some interpret '*Nūl*' to mean the sacred book or the Vēda. But the more appropriate interpretation seems to be the holy thread.
11. *Ibid.*, 624.
12. *Ibid.*, 629.
13. *Ibid.*, 637.

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division. On the whole, it seems that the regional divisions and their numerous subdivisions continued to be the basic structure in the Śaṅgam age while the Āryan classification was introduced from the north, which appeared as a kind of vertical division cutting across the horizontal division already in existence.

By the time of the Epics, the two forces appeared to be getting entrenched, each in its own way. On the one hand, the supreme position of the brahmins was established and strengthened by religious sanction, and on the other, the multiplication of subdivision among the regional groups of old increased. Ascetics and those who performed penance lived in separate quarters away from the madding crowd. The brahmin purohit became the master of ceremonies in connection with marriages among the other sections of the Hindu community.[14] Kaṇṇagi is said to have requested the God of Fire to exempt brahmins and ascetics from the ravages of fire when the city was to be burnt.

But there is little attempt to enforce the rigid prescriptions in respect of the Kshatriya and Vaiśya castes. The royal armies did not consist of Kshatriyas but of Maṛavar or Eyinar, who according to the Āryan classification, must have been assigned to the Sūdra caste. Again, trade appears to have been common to the Vaiśyas and Veḷḷāḷas. Alongside of this relaxation in the fourfold classification the multiplication of subdivisions in the regional groups went on apace. The smiths are grouped more rigidly into blacksmiths, goldsmiths and carpenters. Weavers, cobblers, and other groups emerge. Differentiations in the social scale of superiority appear clearly in the age of the Śaṅgam. The idea of untouchability on the part of certain castes comes into vogue by the time of the Epics. Not only the brahmins but certain sections of Vaiśyas also dreaded pollution by members of the lower caste. For instance, Śilappadikāram says that the goldsmith took care to be at a distance from Kōvalan the Vaisya.[15] Though even in the Śaṅgam age certain sections like the Pulayar and Paṛayar were treated as low born, the practice of untouchability among the higher sections of the Śūdras was a development of the latter period, namely that of the Epics.

14. *Śilappadikāram*, Canto XXI, ll. 53-54.
15. *Ibid.*, XVI, 105.

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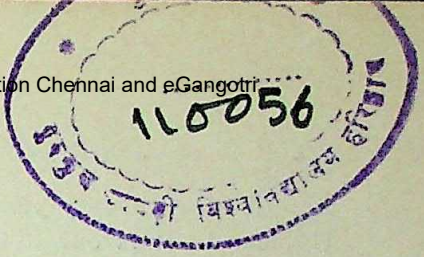

The Riddle of Indian History

BY

Sri A. S. P. Ayyar, I.C.S., (*Retd.*)

Of all the countries in the world, China and India are the only two which have survived with continuity of history for the last six thousand years. Other countries there were, like Sumeria, Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Mycenae, Troy, and Carthage, which have now become extinct, the continuity of their civilization having been severed for centuries and new races, having no connection with the old, having taken their place. Israel, which also began its history in the sixth millennium B.C., like India and China and the countries mentioned above, suffered a terrible catastrophe and the Jews got dispersed all over the world and only recently reconstituted their small State of Israel, which is surrounded by enemy Arab countries and has a precarious existence. That country was always small and could never compare with China and India. Even China has radically changed its social, religious and economic system, whereas India still has the same moorings as of old, at least regarding the majority of its population, the Hindus. Still, there is no history of India, in the lay sense, written by Indians, comparable to the histories of Greece and Rome, England and France, the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana, and similar books being mere fragments relating to portions of the country, and for a few centuries only, and unreliable at that, mixing facts and legends and confusing dates and events. Why is this so? That is the riddle we have to solve.

The world is a thousand million years old, and humanity is one million years old, and civilized humanity six thousand years old, and democratic humanity 275 years old, from the beginning of the American and French revolutions. India has a continuous civilization for six thousand years ever since the dawn of civilization itself, and the monuments of that civilization lie widespread in the Indus Valley, at Harappa, Jhokaro, Mohenjo-daro and Kalibangan, stretching over fifty thousand square miles, vaster than the Egyptian, Aegian, Sumerian, Assyrian, and Babylonian civili-

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zations. But till fifty years ago they were not noted, much less, chronicled. It is our duty to explore the hidden roots of our ancient culture so that the fruits of the future may correspond to the roots of the past, whatever necessary graftings may be taken to the tree of our civilization. England concentrated on the sea, France on land, Germany on the clouds and India on the other world. All this has to change. Indians have always realised the importance of keeping contact with the living past, regarding culture and arts, philosophy and religion. They have eloquently pleaded for keeping an unbroken continuity between ancestors and descendants in order to preserve our civilization and culture intact and has urged everyone to have children so that he may not only be the descendant of his ancestors but also the ancestor of his descendants. We have to keep the past and the future linked through the present, and to recover the history and culture of the past, damaged and wrecked by invasions and tumults, earthquakes and floods, dessication and migration. The hurry and bustle of modern life and the lack of leisure and the pre-occupation of the people with making money and seeking jobs make us modern Indians unacquainted even with ancient vestiges existing intact, like the numerous temples, obelisks, pyramids, inscriptions and monuments, let alone the vast oceans of culture in every department of life which are not certainly dead things of a dead past, but things of the living past which may again be resuscitated like the panchayats and village communities, with changes necessitated by time, the great discoverer and the great destroyer. There is no land on earth so full of monuments, epigraphs, and living survivals like India, and it is our duty to see that our children and children's children do not simply fritter away their whole time on current politics and other things of the moment, devoid of lasting values and concentrate on the living history of India.

I am not impressed by some short-sighted critics who ask us not to worry about the past, but to concentrate on the present and the future, and spend every pie on relief for the poor and on production of more food. Man does not live by bread alone, and no country can afford to neglect its past except at its peril, especially India, whose present history is a child of the past, just as its future history will be a child of the present. History is the philosophy of experience, and past experience of the calamities and conquests which followed disunity and apathy in our country

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must warn us against such conduct in future. The Hunas who disrupted the powerful Gupta empire in the North, in the fifth century A.D., and the Kalabhras who disrupted the Chera and Pandya kingdoms in the South, earlier ought to warn us not to be too complacent about our unity, security and freedom. Eternal vigilance is a condition precedent for our unity and liberty.

It is wrong to say that it is best not to find out the truth about the origin of the Āryans and the Dravidians, the Hunas and the Kalabhras, as they will only supply politicians with materials for sowing disunity and discord. It is ignorance which will be dangerous, and never knowledge. Already, research has shown up the myth of a pure race, and the even greater myth of intellectual, cultural or moral superiority of any one race over another. Nor am I impressed by the critics who say that to glory in the past is to indulge in a form of national egotism, and that all egotism (of me and mine) ought to be given up. With the great poet Thompson, we may say,

"Alack! Ye tall angels,
I can't think so high,
I can't think what it feels like
Not to be I."

Still less am I impressed by the gloomy pessimists who say, "Why worry about history?", and add

"Lo, as the wind is, so is mortal life,
A moan, a sigh, a sob, a storm, a strife."

I believe in giving life a meaning instead of asking the meaningless question, "What is the meaning of life?"

We have many problems unsolved, from the race and beliefs of the Indus Valley people and the original homes of the Aryans and the Dravidians, to the identity of the Kalabhras and the secret of their being able to submerge the Cholas and the Pandyas, and the origin of the Pallavas and the secret of their hold on South India for centuries. A poet has said,

"For every problem under the sun,
There is a solution, or there is none:
If there be one, try to find it,
If there is none, never mind it!"

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We need not worry about the fact that there may be two diametrically opposite theories about a fundamental problem, like the authors of the Indus Valley civilization, some holding it to be Sumerian or Dravidian in origin, and others Āryan in origin. A familiar verse says,

"Two men looked out of a window,
One saw mud, the other rainbow."

By the uncovering of the Indus Valley civilization, the origin of Indian history has advanced from the miserable 1500 B.C., attributed to it before to 4000 B.C. Archaeologists have uncovered,

"Charm'd magic casements opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn."

They have lifted some veils from the dark pages of our history. But

"Veil after veil they lift,
But there is veil upon veil behind!"

It will take a long time before the last veil is lifted and we see the real face of the Indus Valley race and script, the real originators of our eras and the true beginnings of the Nandas, Kushans, Guptas, Pandyas, Cheras, Cholas, and Pallavas. We need not be depressed by this fact, as right effort gives far more joy than the results, as the Gita has proclaimed. Nor need we be depressed by the remarks of A. J. Balfour, who has said, "The energies of our solar system will decay, the glory of the sun will be dimmed, and the earth, tideless and inert, will no longer tolerate the race, which for a moment disturbed its solitude. Man will go down into the pit and all his thoughts will perish," or the gloomy predictions of scientists and politicians that nuclear warfare will finish off the human race in a matter of decades. We shall go on with our thoughts about the past, present and furture till we perish, remembering that according to our ancestors, God is the ultimate arbiter of things and not man, his mere agent till the power-of-attorney is withdrawn.

We are living in one of the most glorious periods of India's long history when the independence of our four hundred million people has been wrested from a first class military power England, without the loss of a single life by the *mantra* 'Quit

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India' and the non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nation, reminding us of the non-violent victory of Vasishta with his *darbha* grass over the hordes of Visvamitra; when the country for the first time has become integrated as one unit, though with diverse limbs; when it faces China, Pakistan, and other potential aggressors with self-confidence, while being friendly with both the rival supreme powers U.S.A., and U.S.S.R.; when the writs of the Supreme Court and the High Courts run throughout our Indian Union from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Saurashtra to Assam; when the temples have been thrown open to Harijans, a reform which the Buddha could not achieve; when the hundreds of princely states have been merged, a feat which was beyond Asoka; when the frog in the well isolation of India after Asoka has been broken and our ambassadors are in every country in the world and every country in the world is sending its ambassadors to us; and when a casteless and classless society of the socialistic pattern, with liberty, equality, fraternity, and justice to all as its motto, is the declared goal of our Republic. The heritage of India, will, from now on, be the heritage of all its people regardless of caste, creed, colour, language or state.

We have to remember that our history is largely a history of its civilization, science, arts and culture, and is not a political history like that of the Roman Empire and British Empire which crumbled with time, leaving only fragments behind. We never considered bigness to be greatness. Our ideal emperor was not a historical person like Asoka or Samudragupta or Akbar, but Sri Rama, who ruled a state not even half as big as the present Mysore State. It is quality and moral perfection we placed far above the nilitary qualities like those of Alexander, Caesar, Chengiz Khan, Tamarlane, Napoleon and Hitler. We did not also lay any emphasis on uniformity of culture or ideas. There were 56 different cultures in India, under 56 kings ruling over 56 different kingdoms. A recent Communist Chinese leader said in words, "Let a hundred flowers bloom." We showed it in deed. Every race, white, yellow, brown and black, had its place in India. Even today, we have all these races from the milk-white Kashmiri to the coal-black Tinnevelly man, on whom charcoal will make chalk mark, with all the intermediary colours in between. We have the tradition that God was born as white in the Golden Age (*Krita Yuga*), as yellow in the Silver Age (*Treta Yuga*), as brown in the Copper and

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Bronze Age (*Dwapara Yuga*), and as black in the Iron Age (*Kali Yuga*). No other country has had such a multi-racial and multi-lingual problem. We have solved it by tolerance. Though there are twelve major languages in India, and 325 minor ones, we have tried to solve the conflicts and to bring about harmony by the famous words '*Nadam Brahma Sabdam Brahma*' (All sounds and languages come from Him). So mother tongue and father tongue, native tongue and foreign tongue, are all equalised, and the Indians have no objection whatever to speak through their mother tongue (Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Bengalee, etc.) for regional purposes, through the father tongue (Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian or Hebrew) for cultural and religious purposes, and national language (Hindi) for national purposes, and the international language (English) for international purposes, besides being ready to study and recognize any other language spoken in the world, from Spanish to Swahili. We have always emphasised that language is only a vehicle for knowledge, and that all knowledge is not wisdom.

In our pursuit of Truth, we are rot concerned with the effect of our conclusions. "Truth is supreme, Truth is God", say our scriptures. So it is immaterial to us whether the Mundas, Todas, and Nagas are the first inhabitants of India, or the Dravidians or the Aryans. Of course, as the earth is so much older than the animals on it, and man, the elder brother of the animals and the younger brother of the gods, is not even as old as the animals, it is obvious that man became a denizen of the earth much later than the earth came to be as it is, and that the first men must have evolved in some part of India or South-East Asia, or in Central Asia or in any other part of the world suitable for such evolution and migrated to the other parts. It is quite possible that the Mundas, Todas, Nagas, the Veddas, and the Kadas are the first inhabitants of India, and equally possible that even they came to India from other places, like the Andamanese in the Andaman Islands, and that some of them might have been cannibals at first and then turned head-hunters and finally became hunted by the other civilized races like the Dravidians and the Aryans. It is quite possible that the Dravidians came to India from outside, leaving the Brahuis as an outpost in North-West India when they passed through the Indus Valley to South India, their ultimate home. It is equally possible that the Aryans came early in the second millennium B.C., to India from Asia Minor and Persia and infil-

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trated up to Cape Comorin, led by Agastya, who became also the the great teacher of the Dravidians. The fact remains that today the Indians of each region have more in common with one another, in culture, thought, and outlook and even in physical features, than with Indians of distant places. Thus the Tinnevelly people, whether Brahmin or non-Brahmin, Muslim or Christian, have more in common with one another than with the Kashmiri people or Bengalee people, Hindu or Muslim. So, all these researches into the migrations of peoples need not make us tremble. A great Pandyan king, Nedumcheliyan, decided to celebrate a Vedic sacrifice, and he invited some Brahmins to perform it, and they came with along strides, anxious to reach the court in time and earn their fees. They were called *Brihatcharana* Brahmins (Brahmins who came with long strides). Obviously, they were not the original inhabitants of Madurai, to which city Neducheliyan invited them. The *Vadamas,* by their very name, like the *Vadagala* Ayyangars, came from the North. *Vadukas,* a non-Brahmin tribe, obviously came from Andhra or the North country. The absurd theory that all Brahmins are Aryans, and all non-Brahmins Dravidians, is too ludicrous for words to hold the field.

In conducting researches, a proper scholarly spirit must be observed. Thus there is no reason to believe that any purely Indian script was evolved from the Phoenaecian or any other script of Asia Minor or Syria or Palestine, as some Western scholars wrongly assume. It is now clear that all the purely Indian scripts were evolved from the Brahmi script current from the seventh century B.C. and popularised by the great emperor Asoka by his inscriptions all over the country. Even the inscriptions in Tamil in Salem district and Sittanavasal in Pudukottah State were all written in the Brahmi script with some peculiar letters like 'zha' added on. Tamil patriotism makes some scholars think that there were an independent Tamil script in those days. This is due to the wrong assumption that the Brahmi script was not contributed to by all parts of India, and was a peculiar evolution of the North, just like the wrong assumption that Sanskrit was only a language of the North, whereas some of the greatest writers in Sanskrit—Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhwa and Vallabha, were admittedly South Indians. South India contributed to Sanskrit as much as North India, and is now as much a stronghold of Sanskrit scholars as Benares and Navadwip. We need not be deterred by the consi-

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deration that there were differences in sounds and letters. Even now, in the most ancient and evolved of our spoken languages, Tamil, we have the pure sound 'zha' as in *'Vazha-Vazha'* and *'Vazhapazham'* only in the heart of Tamil Nad, Tanjore and Madurai. In the North Tamil Nad, like Madras and Chingleput, we have got *'Vayapayam'* and in South Tamil Nad, like Tinnevelly, we have got *'Valapalam'*. So, too, in Bengal, instead of *ca, sha,* and *sa,* there is only one sound *sha.* A great Bengali scholar told me that Sanskrit had three letters of the same sound *sha.* I told him that the three letters represented three different sounds *ca, sha* and *sa.* He said, "They all sound *sha, sha, sha,*" showing that the Bengalis made no distinction between the three sounds.

The scramble for territory amongst the linguistic groups of India today is unfortunate for our country and culture. All our ancient rulers, like Asoka and the Pallavas, ruled over territories where different languages were spoken, and, conversely, several rulers ruled over territories speaking the same language, like the Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas. The recent scramble for Goa,. the moment it was conquered and annexed to the Mother-land by Mysore and Maharashtra, is a thing which should set us thinking. The division of India into language groups can be justified on the score of commonness of ideas and culture, but there must be limits to linguistic Jingoism. Sri Rama rightly said "The Mother-land and the Mother far exceed even heaven." Let us put Mother India above the linguistic states.

As already stated, the history of India is largely a history of her religious thought, culture, and arts and science. The Vedas, the earliest known books of mankind, date from atleast the fourth or third millennium B.C. The Brahmanas and the Upanishads are part of the Vedas, and relate to ritualistic and philosophical discourses. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the two greatest epics of the world, and treat of all possible human ideals and characters and situations, including nuclear warfare, though only in imagination, like *Agniastram, Vayuvastram, Brahmastram,* etc. The only other epics comparable to these are the Greek epics, the Iliad and the Odyssey, and the Tamil epics, Silappathikaram and Manimekhalai. Then we have got the *Dharma Sastras* dealing with the law, where the greatest fundamental principles of Law are enunciated, like:

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"Any law which is acceptable to a community and does no harm to other communities, ought to be recognized by the king."

"Dharma, if sought to be destroyed, destroys the would-be destroyer; if preserved, it preserves the preserver."

"Each person ought to develop his own innate genius and contribute to the progress of the world."

"The laws must change with the time, or humanity will perish."

"What is good for one community may not be good for another."

"Maintenance of Law and order is as necessary for the preservation of society, as repairs to a building."

"A Panchayat court is the most inexpensive and efficient court, as the five men who constitute it, when sitting together, are more than two thousand times stronger than the five men composing it, just as five ones put together make 11, 111, but only five when standing separately."

We had our *Arthasastras,* like Chanakya's, where it was declared 2200 years ago, "A king ought to consider only the welfare of his subjects, and consider it as his welfare and have no consideration for his own welfare. He ought to have regard to *Dharma* and the increase of wealth and happiness of his subjects and should provide for their salvation by spiritual instruction." We had phonetics and grammar as in Panini, no alphabet or grammar being more scientific than ours. We had yogic exercises for improving the mind, body and soul, as in Patanjali's *Yoga Sastra.* We had great mathematicians and astronomers like Aryabhatta, Varahamihira, Brahmagupta, Bhaskaracharya and Leelavati who developed arithmetic and algebra, evolved the numerals now in use in the world, and found out the square root of minus one. Among physicians we had Charaka, Susruta and Dhanvantri, who used the natural plants and herbs and minerals of the country, and also some non-vegetarian medicines and even wine in their medicinal preparations and had very interesting formulae like, "Mother's milk suits babies best; next cow's milk; next cocoanut milk; and last milk of magnesia." We had great architect like Visvakarma, who had set the model for our great temples at Madurai, Tanjore, Gaya, Jagannath etc. We had our great sculptors, remaining mostly nameless, who have given us marvellous statues, such as those of Nataraja, the Buddha, and Krishna, and the Jain Gomateswaras at

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Sravanabelgola, Karkal, and Yenur. Special mention may be made of the Nataraja image, even now manufactured at Svamimalai with a continuity of at least a thousand years. This image embodies statics in dynamics, and dynamics in statics, motion in repose and repose in motion, and combines this world and the other world in one swoop. We have got one of the earliest systems of music in the world, beginning with the Sama Veda of four thousand years ago, and having endless ragas and raginis and half tones and quarter tones. We have even musical pillars in Suchindram, Tirunelveli and Madurai temples, exhibiting the *sapta swaras* on exquisitely modelled pillars. We have got among wind instruments the flute and the nadaswaram, among the percussion instruments the mridangam and the tabla, and among the stringed instruments the veena and the sitar. We have got a variety of vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. We hold the record in the least number of wars and riots, considering the immensity of our country and population. We have stories of great judges like Nedunchelian who died of shock the moment he realised that he had delivered a wrong judgment, and of Ram Shastri who, after having been the Chief Justice of Maharashtra for a number years, had no property whatever and left his job the moment he could not bring the Peshwa Raghunath Rao, whom he suspected of murdering Madhava Rao Narayana, to justice. We have the record of emperor Sibi who gave a portion of his own flesh to a vulture when he protected a dove from its clutches, and of Manuneethikanda Cholan, who drove his chariot over his own son for having driven his chariot callously over a calf. People can say that these are all legendary, but legends shape a nation's growth and determine its outlook. We evolved the best system of teaching, viz., the Upanishadic system, where the teacher and pupil sat together and discussed fearlessly about everything on earth or heaven. Every Indian was asked to treat his mother as a god, his father as a god, his teacher as a god and his guest as a god, and adjured to look after his material welfare equally with his spiritual welfare. It is wrong to think that the Indians never cared for material things. The very fact that the population of India has kept on growing through the centuries shows this. Increase of population is not a spiritual function, especially after one son has been born to fulfil the spiritual needs. The fact that Vatsyayana wrote the *Kamasastra* and dealt with all the aspects of sexual love in the second century A.D., 1700

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years before Havelock Ellis, shows that Indians dealt with all aspects, material and spiritual, following their famous maxim that this world and the next are connected together like a stick half immersed in water, it being the same stick above and below. Even magic was developed well, like Indra-jala and Mahendrajala, the rope trick in which a man disappeared into space, and the mango trick in which the growth of a mango from plant to fruit was done within ten minutes, a thing unrivalled in the world. There are many other aspects of material pursuits which need not be dilated upon. But no regular or authentic history of even these arts and sciences was written in the over-emphasis on philosophy, religion, and the other world.

Instead of writing political or cultural histories India engaged itself in writing *Puranas,* histories of a peculiar kind, dealing with the fights between gods and demons, men and monsters, and incidentally giving an insight into the workings of human destiny, and left the writing of mundane stories of kings and their exploits to court panegyrists. Zimmer has written that the Indians, having experience of only tyrannical kings, turned away from the world, ran to the forests and did penance, and evolved peculiar yogic and metaphysical powers. That is not correct. On the whole, the kings of India were not worse than the kings elsewhere, and though there were many selfish tyrants, there were also very good kings like Asoka, Samudragupta, Harsha, Raja Raja Chola, Krishnadeva Raya and Akbar. But even from these the great writers and sages stood aloof. Kambar never met the Chola king, or sought his court, and Tulsi Das never met Akbar or sought his court. Modern historians are trying to create fables of their having met these kings. This will only delude our children and bring down the reputation of these great men. Thyagaraja and Dikshatar never sought the court of the Tanjore king. Their allegiance was only to God, and therein lay their greatness and the greatness of India.

India's political history is chronicled today in the ample pages of the parliamentary and legislative assembly reports, and the ampler pages of the newspapers and the speeches of the politicians. But the real history of India, its religious and cultural history, will continue to be something apart. Shelly says,

"We look before and after,
And pine for what is not,

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Our sincerest laughter,
With some pain is fraught,
Our sweetest songs are those
Which tell of saddest thought."

And Keats says,

"The desire of the moth for the star,
The night for the morrow,
The devotion to something afar,
From the sphere of our sorrow."

The above lines of these two great poets will show the attitude of our great sages and thinkers, to our political history. The real history of India lies in the eternal search for God and Truth, peace and non-violence, and not in the chronicles of wars and feuds, treaties and alliances. The great king Janaka said, "If Mithila burns, nothing that belongs to Janaka is destroyed." Sankara has said, "God alone is Truth, everything else is a myth—*Brahma Sathyam, Jagan Mithya.*" These two sayings represent the ancient attitude of the Indians towards political history and its passing show, and explains the riddle.

An English poet unable to understand the riddle wrote early in this century:

"Mother India is fallen,
She can never rise again,
She is cast down for ever,
None on earth can raise her up."

But she has risen up again mighter and more glorious than ever. A greater poet, John Masefield has explained the riddle:

"I hold that when a person dies,
His soul returns again to earth,
Arrayed in some new flesh disguise,
Another mother gives him birth;
With sturdier limbs and brighter brain,
The old soul takes the road again."

So today we find the ideas of the Pushpaka Vimana and space travel, of deadly nuclear weapons killing crores at a time, of the emergence and submergence of whole worlds, referred to in the Puranas, and depicted so vividly in our sculptures and paintings, recurring in modern times in more vivid forms.

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Copper Coins of Ramagupta

BY

D. C. SIRCAR

Some coins bearing the name of Rāmagupta on the obverse and the figure of a lion on the reverse were published a few years ago.[1] The coins are of copper and were found in the region of East Malwa. They resemble the monetary issues of the Mālavas of Rajasthan and the Nāgas of Malwa. There was a controversy on the position of the issuer of these coins. Some scholars favoured his identification with an Imperial Gupta ruler who, according to the story of Viśākhadatta's drama entitled *Devīchandragupta*, bore the name Rāmagupta and was the immediate predecessor of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (376-413 A.D.). But there were others who were inclined to take Rāmagupta of the copper coins to be a local ruler of the Malwa region since they were doubtful about the historicity of Rāmagupta known from the tradition recorded in the *Devīchandragupta*.

Recently Mr. K. D. Bajpai has published some more coins of Rāmagupta, which were collected by him from Vidiśā and Eraṇ in East Malwa.[2] They are of copper and some of them are of the lion type known from Rāmagupta's coins published previously. But a number of coins, now published by Mr. Bajpai, bear the symbol of Garuḍa, facing with outspread wings, instead of the lion emblem, on the reverse. Since Garuḍa was the crest of the Imperial Guptas and is found on many of their monetary issues, Mr. Bajpai feels confident that "the coins bearing the name Rāmagupta are not the issues of any local officer of the Imperial Guptas, nor of any feudatory king named Rāmagupta", but that "they were issued by Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya." In our opinion, however, the discovery of these Garuḍa

1. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp 103-06, Plate IX. Nos. 1-6; Vol. XIII, pp. 128-30, Plate VIII. No. 1-8; Vol. XVIII, pp. 108-09, Plate VIII, No. 1.

2. *Ibid.*. Vol. XXIII (Golden Jubilee Volume), pp. 340 ff., Plate X, Nos. 1-12.

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type copper coins of Rāmagupta does not prove that their issuer was an Imperial Gupta monarch. On the other hand, they really show that, like some other rulers of his type, Rāmagupta was a chief who issued coins in imitation of the Imperial Gupta money on the decline of the Guptas about the close of the fifth century A.D.

Mr. Bajpai's other conclusions, based on the discovery of Rāmagupta's coins at Vidiśā and Eraṇ, are that Rāmagupta was appointed the governor of East Malwa by his father Samudragupta (c. 335-76 A.D.), that circumstances compelled him to stay there even after his father's death and that the murder of the Śaka king and later of Rāmagupta himself by Chandragupta II, as known from the *Devīchandragupta* traditions, took place at Vidiśā or Eraṇ. All these conjectures are based on the belief that the discovery of the Garuḍa type coins of Rāmagupta proves the genuineness of the tradition recorded in the *Devīchandragupta*. But they are entirely unwarranted.

We know that a ruler named Harigupta, who enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* assumed by the non-imperial rulers of North India during the Gupta age, issued copper coins, one type of which, imitated from the *chhatra* type gold coins of Chandragupta II, exhibits Garuḍa, facing with outspread wings, above the legend on the reverse.[3] It is quite clear that, even if this Harigupta is identified with Harirāja described in a Bundelkhand inscription of about the fifth century as *Gupta-vaṁś-odita*, he has no place among the Imperial Gupta monarchs.

The *Gupta*—ending name of another imitator of the monetary issues of the Imperial Guptas is revealed by two copper coins recently discovered in the course of excavations at Kumdahar near Patna in Bihar.[4] They have the bust of king, to left, on the obverse and Garuḍa above the legend *Indragupta* on the reverse. It is palpably impossible to regard this Indragupta as one of the Imperial Gupta monarchs of Magadha. If, therefore, the Garuḍa type copper coins of Harigupta and Indragupta do not prove that

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 95 ff.

4. Altekar and Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55, p. 100, Nos. 1 and 3.

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the rulers were emperors belonging to the Gupta house, similar copper coins issued by Rāmagupta hardly proves any such thing. On the other hand, the similarity of their coin types and names points to the fact that Rāmagupta, Harigupta and Indragupta enjoyed similar position, if not that they belonged to the same region and also to the same family. They appear to have flourished on the decline of the imperial authority of the Guptas in the outlying provinces of the Gupta empire about the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. which saw the rise of such ruling families as the Parivrājaka, Uchchakalpīya and Śarabhapatrīya houses.[5] The palaeography of the legend of the coins in question does not appear to militate against this dating.

It will be seen that, while Rāmagupta and Indragupta do not employ any royal title along with their names, Harigupta calls himself a *Mahārāja*. This may suggest that the first and second rulers flourished earlier than the third who, again, may have enjoyed a little better position than the others.

If all these rulers may be believed to have flourished in the regions about Bundelkhand and Malwa, we have to think that the coins of Indragupta and Harigupta travelled respectively to Kumrāhār (ancient Pāṭaliputra, capital of Magadha) and Rāmnagar (ancient Ahichchhatrā, capital of North Pāñchāla) in the course of trade. The general belief among the students of Indian numismatics that copper coins, being made of a cheap metal, did not travel away from the land of their issue does not appear to be strictly correct, because some rulers issued only copper money which was the principal currency in their states and copper was a fairly costly metal in early India. Apart from the high purchasing power of money in ancient times, it has to be noticed that sixteen

5. Cf., e.g.. *Select Inscriptions,* pp. 370 ff., 374 ff.; *Ep Ind.,* Vol. XXXI, pp. 267-68. A fourth ruler with name ending in *gupta,* who has to be mentioned along with Rāmagupta, Harigupta and Indragupta, is Devagupta. This king enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* and is known from a [copper] coin exhibiting *pūrṇa-kumbha* on the reverse (cf. *Ind. Hist. Quart.,* Vol. XXXIII, p. 378). This reverse type associates Devagupta with Harigupta. one type of whose coins bears the same emblem on its reverse (Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India,* p. 19, Plate II, No. 6). We have, however. some doubt that it is Mahārāja Harigupta's coin that has been represented as a coin of Devagupta through confusion.

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copper *Paṇas* of eighty *Ratis* each were regarded as equal to one silver *Kārshāpaṇa* in ancient India, thus making forty *Ratis* of copper equal to one *Rati* of silver. Even in the early medieval age, sixteen copper *Paṇas* were regarded as equal to one silver *Dramma,* sixteen of which were equal to one gold *Nishka* in value. In the age of the Mughals, forty Akbarī *Dāms* of copper were equal to one Akbarī *Rupee* of silver, while, in Alamgīr's time, 46⅓ *Dāms* were counted as the equivalent of a *Rupee.* Later, a much higher number of copper *Dāms* were equated with a silver *Rupee.*

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Society in the Age of the Guptas

BY

R. N. DANDEKAR

Varṇāśramadharma : Historical Background

In most of the epochs of ancient Indian history, the ideal of *varṇāśramadharma* had been the essential driving force behind the Indian society and its life. The social conditions in any particular period of Indian history have therefore to be evaluated primarily with reference to the manner in which this system of four social orders and four stages in an individual's life functioned during that period. Whatever may have been its origin, it has to be admitted that, in course of time, cāturvarṇya, in its ideal form, came to be looked upon as an organisation of society based on certain principles of social ethics. Each of the four ethnico-occupational groups of *varṇas* was expected to follow its own specific *dharma* or code of duties in order that the purity, solidarity, and integrity of the society as a whole should remain undisturbed. What *varṇadharma* was in respect of the life of the society as a whole, *āśramadharma* was in respect of the life of an individual. The life of an individual, in its ideal form, was also organised into four distinct stages or *āśramas,* so that he should be in a position to make the best possible use of his entire earthly life and thus contribute to the society the maximum that he was capable of. It is, however, needless to add that, in Indian history, the systems of *varṇa* and *āśrama* have not always functioned in their ideal forms. It was but natural that where there was this kind of division of society into classes—a division which was supposed to be sanctioned by religion, which was based on birth, and which, therefore, was unalterable—there should necessarily ensue the exploitation of one class by another. It was often the character of the interrelations among the principal social orders which has mainly conditioned the social dynamics in any particular period of ancient Indian history.

We can clearly see how, since the days of the Nandas, the conflict between the different social orders had been reflected in

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the political sphere. The *purāṇika* tradition that the race of the Kṣatriyas would come to an end with the Nandas[1] seems to give us a clue in this connection. It can be assumed, on the basis of that tradition and much other historical evidence which confirms that tradition, that, with the rise of Candragupta Maurya, the ruling power was transferred from the hands of the Kṣatriyas to those of the Śūdras. The former ruling class of the Kṣatriyas lost their position and a new class of rulers was created. From the point of view of social history, therefore, the Maurya epoch must be regarded as a revolutionary epoch. For the first time in the historical period, a *vṛṣala* had become an emperor.[2] Candragupta seems to have been particularly bitter against the Kṣatriyas, and this fact may have been indirectly responsible for his close association with a Brāhmaṇa prime-minister like Kauṭilya. In response to the changed conditions, Kauṭilya also was inclined to invest a Śūdra with a legal personality. In his *Arthaśāstra*, he has pleaded against the selling or the mortgaging of the life of a Śūdra.[3] But, by and large, Kauṭilya's attitude in this respect seems to be half-hearted. He continued the old policy of being hard on the Śūdras in the matter of wergild and upheld the sanctity of the Brāhmaṇas, in spite of his attempt to abolish slavery of the Śūdras—of course, in a roundabout manner—and in spite of his having referred to them as *ārya*.[4] Aśoka, the grandson of the first *vṛṣala* emperor in India, aimed at doing away with all the legal inequalities of a Śūdra. Evidently he received his inspiration from Buddhism. In true Buddhist spirit, Aśoka tried to build up a classless society and a classless administrative machinery. Such efforts on the part of a scion of a *vṛṣala*, and a Buddhist at that, naturally provoked a strong opposition from the Brahmanic and other high-caste sections. The classless beaurocracy which Aśoka sought to establish, must have, indeed, dealt a heavy blow to the long-enjoyed monopoly of those sections. When, therefore, they saw that the Maurya imperial power was declining, they availed themselves of that psychological moment. Under the leadership

1. Cf. Dhuṇḍirāja's introduction to his commentary on the *Mudrārākṣasa*, I.23: *nandāntaṁ kṣatriyakulam iti purāṇaśāsanāt.*
2. Cf. *Mudrārākṣasa*, Acts 3 and 7.
3. *Kautilīya Arthaśāstra*, III, 13.
4. *Op. cit.*

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of the Brāhmaṇa commander-in-chief of the last Maurya monarch, Bṛhadratha, they rose against the ruling dynasty. This was the revolt of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. It was now the turn of the Brāhmaṇas to elevate themselves to the status of a ruling class. The *Manusmṛti,* which may be regarded as the great gospel of this successful Brahmanic counter-revolution led by Puṣyamitra, seems to suggest in almost unmistakable terms that only a Brāhmaṇa well-versed in the Veda deserves to be a general, that he alone deserves to be a king.[5] It was the first time that the right of a Brāhmaṇa to rule had been formally recognised in a *dharmaśāstra* text. The author of the *Manusmṛti* is fanatically hard on the Śūdras. His laws are reactionary and almost smack of vengeance. They clearly represent the fierce class-struggle of that epoch. The classless administrative machinery set up by Aśoka was replaced by a Brahmanic beaurocracy. Only persons of good birth, says the author of the *Manusmṛti,* should be appointed officers of the king. Since the time of the *Manusmṛti,* the Brahmanic hierarchy and their claim to sanctity began to take firm root in India's body politic. The right of the Brāhmaṇa as the first *varṇa,* superior to all other *varṇas,* came to be emphatically asserted. Though the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas in the political field soon came to an end, the *varṇāśramadharma,* as they had elaborated it in the *Manusmṛti,* had come to stay and continued to be the ruling factor in the Hindu society for all time to come.

The period in Indian history which intervened between the fall of the Śuṅgas and the rise of the Guptas was characterised by considerable political and social upheaval. No central political and military power like that of the Mauryas was in existence at that time. A constant struggle for political supremacy went on among the different royal families who ruled over small kingdoms in various parts of India, such as, the Āndhras, the Nāgas, the Bhāraśivas, and the Vākāṭakas. It was also a period which witnessed the raids upon India by foreign tribes like the Śakas, the Kuṣāṇas, and the Pahlavas. These tribes originally came to India as foreign maraduers, but ultimately remained in the country not as foreigners but as naturalised Indians. A study of the historical records pertaining to these tribes would make it sufficiently clear

5. *Manusmṛti,* XII. 100.

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that, during that period, a vigorous intermingling of races and nationalities had almost become the order of the day. This was historically inevitable. The foreigners abandoned their alien character and were absorbed into the Hindu fold. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence shows that they soon became adherents of different Hindu religious sects. This *hinduisation* of foreign immigrants naturally resulted in some modifications being made in the existing Hindu social organisation. It has already been pointed out that the *cāturvarṇya*, as envisaged by the *Manusmṛti*, which may be properly characterised as the law-book of the Śuṅgas, was of the most reactionary character. It was intended mainly to safeguard the power and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas, and incidentally of the next two *varṇas* in the social hierarchy. The *Manusmṛti* further wanted that this social hierarchy should remain unalterable under any circumstances and had, accordingly, put in the necessary safeguards to secure that purpose. But with the absorption, into the Hindu society, of foreign elements of diverse nationalities, it became inevitable that rigid social order should be made a little fluid and elastic. There was also another factor which we have to take into account in this context. The period between the fall of the Śuṅgas and the rise of the Guptas saw vigorous activity on the part of the Hindus in the matter of colonisation in and trade with foreign countries. It was in this period that Greater India was born. The intellectual, religious, and cultural movements of the Indians spread out far beyond the frontiers of their mother-land. This fact consequently necessitated that the rigid social order of the *varṇaśramadharma* should be considerably liberalised—at least in practice. Nevertheless it has to be noted that while this movement of the liberalisation of the social organisation was going on, it was also being felt by some social thinkers of the time that *varṇadharma* should not be altogether dispensed with. Owing to the free intermingling of persons belonging to different races and possessing different cultures, the Hindu social structure was in the danger of being gradually disintegrated. It was further felt that the *cāturvarṇya*, properly practised, would alone be conducive to the solidarity and progress of the society. In its ideal form, a caste could be regarded as the best form of a social corporation. It had proved particularly effective in the matter of the advancement of different professions followed by the castes. A caste was more or less like a trade-

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guild which helped to maintain, and, wherever possible to develop, the expert knowledge in a particular trade. A father taught his craft to his son, and thus the expert knowledge in that craft was carried on to posterity from one generation to another. The continuity of a caste therefore meant correspondingly the continuity of a trade or an art. Like an economic guild, each caste had its own ethical code, and, in accordance with that code, it governed the social life of its members and also regulated their relations with the members of other castes. The caste-system consequently helped to hold the Hindu society together. It had, indeed, been an effective force by means of which quite a lot of good in Hindu social and economic life had been conserved. But, side by side with this, it had also proved an agency for conserving evil, in as much as it had helped to consolidate the fanatical conflict among the castes and the consequent invidious distinctions among them in social and legal matters.

Social Organisation under the Guptas

On the eve of the rise of the Gupta imperial power there were thus two forces working in connection with the *varṇadharma*. On the one hand it had become historically inevitable that the social order inspired by the *varṇadharma* be rendered less rigid and more liberal; on the other hand, it was realised that, for the sake of the preservation of the sanctity, integrity, and solidarity of the Hindu society, the *varṇadharma* could not be allowed to vanish altogether. This conflict of forces finally resulted in the *cāturvarṇya* being established as a permanent feature of the Hindu social system. As a social organisation it now became more effective, but at the same time, it became more liberal in practice. It was such liberal *cāturvarṇya* which must be said to have been the most characteristic feature of the social organisation under the Guptas. This assumption is supported by the evidence of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. While, for instance, Yāñavalkya has strongly opposed the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa with a Śūdra woman,[6] he has generally raised the legal and social status of a Śūdra. The *cāndrāyaṇa* penance, which had till then been open only to the twice-born, was now allowed to him. He was not denied oppor-

6. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, I. 57.

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tunities for education, and, when gifted with true knowledge, he commanded the same amount of respect as a Brāhmaṇa. Trade with the Śūdras was also permitted by the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*.[7] It may be presumed that under the Brāhmaṇa ruling family of the Śuṅgas, the Brāhmaṇas had claimed for themselves certain legal privileges. As can be gathered from the *Manusmṛti*, even when convicted of adultery, rape, theft, felony, murder, etc., a Brāhmaṇa did not become liable to branding and capital punishment. He could not be tortured like culprits belonging to other varṇas nor could his property be confiscated.[8] Yāñavalkya sought to do away with such invidious distinctions. He did not admit any of the legal privileges of a Brāhmaṇa. Torture was generally abolished, and, therefore, a Brāhmaṇa as also a Śūdra automatically became free from it.[9] In contrast with the Brāhmaṇas, the Śūdras had been suffering many disadvantages in early law. With the growth of imperial power under the Maurya rulers, in the 4th century B.C., the position of the Śūdras had improved considerably. The spread of Buddhism was also another factor which had worked favourably in this direction. Inspite of his otherwise orthodox views, Kauṭilya was apparently favourable to the Śūdras.[10] But, after the fall of the Mauryas, the *Manusmṛti*, the law-book of the Śuṅgas, seems to have taken up rather a vindictive attitude *vis-a-vis* the *Śūdras*. Hower, as indicated above, great social changes had taken place between the fall of the Śuṅgas and the rise of the Guptas. The Gupta sovereigns could not have remained blind to these changes. Accordingly, their laws, as represented in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, are much liberalised. There is no repressive law against the Śūdra in the law-book of the Guptas. A Śūdra could have a legal dispute with a Brāhmaṇa; he could teach; he could also own property.

This liberal outlook was also reflected in the actual functioning of the *cāturvarṇya*. Though the rigidity of the *cāturvarṇya*, as an organisation primarily based on birth, continued, and though *varṇa* as such consequently remained unalterable, considerable

7. *Ibid.*, III. 262, 268; I. 120. 166.
8. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 373 ff.
9. *Yājñavalkyāsmṛti*, I. 356-57; II. 230; III. 257.
10. *Op. cit.*

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freedom appears to have been allowed, under the Guptas, in the matter of intermarriage and choice of profession. This assumption can be supported by a fair amount of historical evidence. The *anuloma* type of intermarriage, that is to say, the marriage of a male of higher *varṇa* to a female of a lower *varṇa*, was not uncommon. Rudrasena II, who belonged to the Brāhmaṇa royal family of the Vākāṭakas, married Prabhāvatī Guptā, a princess from the Gupta family, which belonged to a lower *varṇa*. Samudra Gupta himself descended, on the mother's side, from the Licchavis, who were vrātyas. In his law-book, Yājñavalkya has allowed a wife belonging to a lower *varṇa* to take part in religious rites by the side of her husband of a higher *varṇa*, if a wife of an equal *varṇa* was not present.[11] It may also be pointed out, in this context, that Yājñavalkya's opposition to the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa to a Śūdra woman[12] seems to have been merely theoretical, for, a little later,[13] he himself discusses the right of the son of a Śūdra mother to inherit the property of his Brāhmaṇa father. There is also evidence to show that even *pratiloma* type of intermarriage, that is to say, a female of a higher *varṇa* marrying a male of a lower *varṇa*, was in vogue in those days. From the Talgunda pillar inscription of Kākutsthavarman of the Kadamba dynasty,[14] belonging to the first half of the sixth century A.D., we know that the daughter of that monarch, who was a Brāhmaṇa, was married to a prince from the Gupta family. It should, however, be noted that though the various mixed castes, which resulted from such intermarriages, have been duly recorded by Yājñavalkya,[15] there is hardly any mention of any of them in the Gupta inscriptions. As a matter of fact, in a Vākāṭaka record,[16] the son of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Kṣatriya mother is referred to as a Kṣatriya, though Yājñavalkya has theoretically called such a son a *mūrdhāvasikta*.

The rigidity of the *cāturvarṇya* in regard to professions also seems to have been preserved only in theory. For, in actual prac-

11. *Yājñavalkyásmṛti*. I. 88.
12. *Ibid.*, I. 56.
13. *Ibid.*, II. 133 (with the *Mitākṣarā* thereon).
14. *EI.*, VIII. 31.
15. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, I. 91 ff.
16. *ASWI.*, IV. 140.

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tice, we find that the Brāhmaṇas, who were theoretically entitled only to study and to teach, to sacrifice and to officiate at sacrifices, and to make and to receive gifts, had become traders and architects.[17] Many Brāhmaṇas served in the imperial beaurocracy, while some, like the Kadambas and the Vākāṭakas, who were ambitious, even took to the profession of arms and founded their own kingdoms. The Eran pillar inscription[18] records the erection, in 484 A.D., of a column, which is called the *dhvajastambha* of Viṣṇu, under the name of Janārdana, by Mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu, with a view to increasing the religious merit of his ancestors, who were pious Brāhmaṇas. It was the father of Matṛviṣṇu, who, though a Brāhmaṇa, had founded a feudatory principality under the Guptas. Of course it is to be remembered that the majority of grants made to the Brāhmaṇas, under the Guptas, were primarily intended to enable them to follow their own prescribed *dharma*. It was these Brāhmaṇas, who, through their learning and religiosity, carried Hindu culture even to the remotest corners of the Gupta empire. A careful study of these grants would make it possible to ascertain when and how the various *gotras* or Vedic families of the Brāhmaṇas spread over different parts of India. Like the Brāhmaṇas, some Kṣatriyas also had taken to a profession other than the one prescribed for them in the law-books. For instance, the oilmen mentioned in the Indore copper-plate of 465 A.D.[19] are said to have been Kṣatriyas. It can be further presumed that the Śūdras, who, according to the strict theory, had to remain content with the menial type of service of the three higher *varṇas*, took to the martial profession and formed the bulk of the Gupta army. The Kāyasthas, as professional scribes, are frequently referred to in the Gupta records; but there is no sufficient evidence to determine their exact position in the *cāturvarṇya*.

Evidence of Contemporary Literature

The literature produced during the regime of the Guptas also supports the foregoing observations regarding the theory and practice of the *varṇāsramadharma*. In his works, Kālidasa glorifies the *cāthurvarṇya* as the most ideal social order, and the kings belong-

17. *CII.*, III. 119.
18. *CII.*, III. 88.
19. *CII.*, III. 68.

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ing to the race of Raghu are represented to have been keen on seeing that their subjects did not swerve from the paths of duty prescribed for them according to their respective *varṇas*.[20] The Raghu kings are also said to have themselves scrupulously adhered to the scheme of the four *āśramas*.[21] In actual practice, on the other hand, considerable freedom seems to have been allowed to the different *varṇas* in the matter of choice of profession and intermarriage. From the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, which contains perhaps the most vivid picture of the contemporary society that has ever been painted in a play, we find that the Brāhmaṇas were not exclusively a priestly or spiritual community. There were among them big merchants as well. For instance, the grand-father of Cārudatta, who was a Brāhmaṇa, is said to have been a prominent *śreṣṭhin*. A Brāhmaṇa dining at a courtezan's house,[22] or lawfully marrying a courtezan or a slave,[23] or engaging in active politics or even in theft; the Cāṇḍālas not being regarded particularly untouchable; and low-caste persons, like Vīraka and Candanaka, having opportunities to rise to high offices—these are, further, some of the striking features of the liberal *cāturvarṇya* of the period depicted in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

Position of Women

Besides the functioning of the *varṇāśramadharma*, there is another criterion which helps us to form an estimate of the social conditions in any particular period of ancient Indian history, and that is the position of women. Though, from the epigraphic records of the Guptas, we get but little information regarding this point, the law-book of Yājñavalkya and the contemporary literature can be exploited as very useful sources in that connection. The laws about woman, under the Guptas, clearly show that her status in the society had been considerably raised. It may be presumed that this fact was due to the kindly and liberalising influence of Buddhism. Buddhism tried to remove, as far as possible, the invidious distinctions between the status of a man and that of a woman. As we have seen elsewhere, it had rendered similar ser-

20. *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIV. 66.
21. *Ibid.*, I. 5 ff.
22. *Mrcchakatika*, IV.
23. *Ibid.*, IV. 24; X.

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vice in favour of the Śūdras. In the eyes of Buddhism all persons, irrespective of sex and *varṇa,* were equal in spiritual matters. This lead given by Buddhism, in spiritual matters, was followed, to a certain extent, in legal and social matters as well by the Guptas. For the first time in the history of Hindu law, the right of a woman to inherit was fully recognised in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti.*[24] The same is the case in respect of *niyoga,* that is to say a widow's prerogative to beget a son from her deceased husband's brother. The author of the *Manusmṛti* has no doubt referred to *niyoga,* but only with a view to condemning it ultimately.[25] Yājñavalkya seems to have recognised the historical necessity of the changed social conditions in the Gupta epoch, and to have formulated his laws accordingly. Though he does not actually recommend *niyoga,* he does not at least condemn it.[26] A similar attitude was taken, in those days, in regard to widow-remarriage. In the family of the Gupta emperors themselves, we have the example of Candra Gupta II marrying Dhruvadevī, the widow of his elder brother Rāma Gupta. Yājñavalkya further suggests that, after puberty, a girl may select her own husband.[27] It can be gathered from the plays of Kālidāsa that post-puberty marriages were not uncommon in the days of the Guptas. Most of his heroines are shown to have been adults.

The custom of *suttee* was then almost unknown among the common people, though, from that period onwards, one begins to come across instances of it, particularly among the aristocratic circles. There is a stone-pillar inscription at Eran, dated 510 A.D., which records that, in the company of Bhānu Gupta, a chieftain by name Goparāja had gone to that place and fought a battle. Eventually Goparāja was killed in that battle, and his wife, who had accompanied him, burnt herself on her husband's funeral pyre.[28] In contemporary literature we do come across some stray references to the practice of *suttee,* as, for instance, in the *Kumārasambhava,*[29] where Rati desires to burn herself after her hus-

24. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti,* II. 135.
25. *Manusmṛti,* IX. 64-68.
26. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti.* I. 68-69.
27. *Ibid.,* I. 64.
28. *CII.,* III. 91.
29. *Kumārasambhava,* IV. 34.

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band, Madana, and, in *Mṛcchakaṭika*,[30] where Dhūtā, the wife of Cārudatta, prepares to enter fire in the belief that her husband is already executed. But these references cannot be said to depict the normal practice of those days. They are mainly intended to idealise the characters concerned. It may also be pointed out, in this connection, that Bāṇa, in the seventh century A.D., seems to look upon this practice with certain disfavour.[31]

A point of great interest in regard to the position of women in the Gupta society is clearly brought out in the sculptures and paintings belonging to the period. The Ajanta paintings[32] show women moving without veils and mixing freely with men in public life. There are, as a matter of fact, instances, in the history of the Guptas, of ladies in royal families taking upon themselves the responsibility of the administration of a state. During the minority of her son Pravarasena II, Prabhāvatī Guptā, the daughter of Candra Gupta II, carried on the administration of the Vākāṭaka dominions. Her regency, indeed, constitutes a significant period in the history of the Vākāṭakas. We may also presume, on the basis of numismatic evidence, the Kumāradevī, the Licchavi princess, who was married to Candra Gupta I, had been a capable woman and had played an important role in connection with the foundation of the Gupta empire. The coins, with the joint figures of Candra Gupta I and Kumāradevī on the obverse, issued by the founder of the empire during his regime,[33] are an eloquent testimony to the help and cooperation received by him from his consort. It is obvious that girls in royal families were given the training necessary to make them fit for the responsible position which they were expected to occupy later.

Social Life: Fa Hien's Description

Not much information is available from the Gupta records about the minor details of the social life during that period. It would, however, be interesting to note, in this context, what observations Fa Hien has to make about the general mode of life

30. *Mṛcchakaṭika*, X.
31. *Kādambarī, pūrvārdha*, p. 308.
32. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part II, pl. 24.
33. *C G D*, pp. lxiv-lxviii.

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during the reign of Candra Gupta II. About the normal habits of the people, the wise Chinese pilgrim points out[34] that the bulk of the population was abstemious and vegetarian; 'they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butcher's shops or distilleries in their market places'. The pilgrim further reports that 'throughout the country no one kills any living thing or drinks wine'. Only the outcasts went hunting and dealt in flesh. The outcasts were segregated, 'and when they approach a city or market, they beat a piece of wood in order to distinguish themselves. Then people know who they are, and avoid coming into contact with them.'

Dress

The Ajanta frescoes and the contemporary literature throw an interesting side-light on the types of dress worn by the people in the Gupta period. It appears from the Ajanta paintings that head-gear had then almost gone out of use. The art of stitching and tailoring must have been quite in vogue, though common people normally used unstitched garments. Their dress usually consisted of a white lower garment reaching up to the ankles and worn in the same way as the present-day *dhotee,* and an upper garment which was a well-trimmed loose piece of cloth thrown round the left shoulder, like the modern *dupatta.* Sometimes the body was covered by the skirt of the lower garment itself, one end of it being thrown over the left shoulder. Ladies wore coloured garments, like the *saris* of today, in such a manner that they were tied up by means of two knots on the two shoulders. In Bagh caves, there are paintings of women[35] who are wearing *sari*-like garments and also a kind of tailored close-fitting garment like *coli* to cover the breasts. This type of dress is also to be seen in the Ajanta paintings,[36] where we have a picture of a dark-coloured woman who has put on a *sari* and a tailored *coli*-like garment. The Kangali hill paintings at Muttra[37] show women

34. J. H. Legge, *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* (being an account of the Chinese monk Fa-hien's Travels), Oxford 1886; H. A. Giles. *The Travels of Fa-hsien* (re-translated), Cambridge 1923.
35. Cf. scene 6.
36. *Op. cit.*
37. Smith, *Muttra Antiquity Plates,* No. 14, 84.

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with petticoats and tight upper garments. Women in those days did not normally use veils. In contemporary literature, women are represented as covering their faces—and sometimes practically their whole bodies—with veils, but that was for some special occasions only. It may be that a veil was regarded as a symbol of dignity and aristocratic isolation.

The art of printing on cloth seems to have developed considerably in the Gupta age, and quite a lot of originality of colours is to be found among the beautifully woven and printed clothes. Several types of cloth, including those made from silk and from wool of sheep or some other wild animal, and a surprising variety of garments are mentioned in the contemporary literature and described by the Chinese pilgrims. The monks usually wore silk garments and the colour of those garments, often indicated their religion. The Buddhist *bhikṣus* used red garments, the Jain mendicants used white garments, and the Brāhmaṇa *sannyāsins* used yellow garments. According to I-tsing, the Buddhist *bhikṣus* usually wore three garments, namely, *saṁghāṭī uttarāsaṅga,* and *antarvāsa,* though, under special circumstances, they could use ten other types of garments, such as, *nivasana* (underwear), *saṁkakṣika* (shoulder-garment), etc. The *bhikṣuṇīs* also used *saṁghāṭī, uttarāsaṅga, antarvāsa,* and *saṁkakṣikā,* but their special garment was the *lahanga*-like *kusūlaka.* Where it was cold, the *bhikṣus* as well as common people dressed themselves in a peculiar type of garment called *li-pa.* I-tsing notices the use of this kind of dress in Northern and Western India. The uniform of soldiers was made in two pieces—from breast to waist and from thigh to soles. They often used helmets and skull-caps. It may be noted in passing, that interesting information can be gleaned, from the Ajanta frescoes, about the weapons which must have been in vogue in those days. The weapons represented in those paintings are more or less primitive in character. In one painting,[38] for instance, we find a curved dagger, held in the left hand, and in another,[39] a scimitar without scabbard, placed on the right shoulder. Spears, long lances, ornamented swords, short clubs, battle axes, and bows are other weapons which seem to have been quite

38. *The Ajanta Frescoes* (India Society), p. vii.
39. *Ibid.*, pl. viii.

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commonly used.[40] Soldiers also used a peculiar kind of semicircular shield and quivers for holding arrows.[41] A picturesque array of soldiers carrying a variety of weapons is depicted in a couple of paintings.[42] From the effigies of the Gupta sovereign shown on their coins, we can form an idea about the royal apparel. On the *vyāghraparākrama* coins, for instance, Samudra Gupta is represented standing with his large head proudly thrown back, his eyes flashing power, and his broad muscular chest thrown out. He is holding in his hand a lance or an axe in a manner clearly indicating defiance. Gigantic in size, he is wearing large ear-rings, tight-fitting trousers, armour cut very much like the modern frock-coat, and a Kusāṇa cap.[43] It may be generally observed that the dress worn by people in the Gupta age—by aristocrats as well as by common folk—bespeaks their simplicity, grace, and refined taste.

Normal Life of the People

As a matter of fact the foregoing statement holds good in regard to almost all aspects of the social life under the Guptas. A reference may be made, in this context, to the beautiful and prosperous Gupta cities,[44] whose planning and construction revealed a high degree of architectural skill. The general standard of life must have been quite high. The citizens of Daśapura, for instance, are described as enjoying themselves on the flat-roofs of their houses with sandalwood-paste, palm leaf fans, and necklaces.[45] Fashionable ladies moved about wearing artistically prepared garments and different kinds of beautiful ornaments. Men and women freely used betel leaves and flowers. The country as a whole was on a sound economic footing, and there was a general feeling of security, well-being, and progress.

40. *Ibid.*, plates xxi, xxxviii, xxiii, xix, xxxvi, etc.

41. *Ibid.*, pl. viii.

42. *Ibid.*, plates xvii, lvii.

43. *Ind. Mus. Cat.*, I, pl. xv, coins 6-12.

44. See: DANDEKAR, "Some Aspects of the Gupta Civilization". *S. K. De Felicitation Volume* (*BDCRI* 20), 108-115.

45. *CII.*, III, 79.

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An Aspect of State Administration in the Pre-Maurya Period — Influence of Public Opinion on Kingly Governments

BY

U. N. GHOSHAL

One aspect of State administration during the pre-Maurya period, which has not yet received proper attention of scholars, relates to the influence exercised by the masses of the people upon the governments of the Kings. The masters of the *Arthaśāstra,* as is well-known, contemplate a highly centralised administration with the King at its head. Nevertheless, they leave us in no doubt that the popular attitude towards the ruler was in their view a factor to be reckoned with in the affairs of government. Kauṭilya (I 13-14) provides for the intensive as well as for the extensive invigilation of the King's own subject as well as of those of the enemy with a view to guarding the former against the enemy's wiles and seducing the latter one to his own side. Within the kingdom, we read (ibid I 13). arrangements should be made for collective disputations of spies in various public places so that while one spy should question the king's right to this obedience of his subjects, another should silence the lowly folk by narrating the story of the king's origin in primitive times and his quasi-divine functions. Espionage, the author continues, should be employed on a country-wide scale in both the urban and the rural areas. After the spies had ascertained the sentiments of groups closely connected with the king, he should apply towards them the four traditional expedients: he should honour those who are contented and should apply successively the arts of conciliation, bribery, dissension and force against those who are disaffected. Simultaneously spy-rings are to be set up in the four types of States comprised within the king's State-system classified as allies, enemies, neutrals and intermediaries: the espionage should apply to the eighteen top-ranking officials and should extend over the rural and the urban as well as over the forest areas; loyal district officers are to be settled on the borders of the king-

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dom for espionage on the enemy's agents. Above all, a secret propaganda is to be undertaken by the king's agents for seducing the enemy's subjects. These last are classified under four heads according as they are moved against their king's by one or other of four passions, namely, anger, fear, greed and pride. The author shows by practical examples how these groups are to be won over severally by spies appealing to their master passion. The same attitude is reflected in Kautilya's statement of inter-state relations. Discussing the degree of vulnerability of hostile kings Kauṭilya (VII 5) analyses the king's faults according as they tend to make his subjects poor, greedy or disaffected, and he follows up this analysis with a strong warning to the king in his own interest to avoid the courses tending to produce these respective consequences.[1]

More important than the above for the purpose of illustrating the degree to which the public were held to be capable of influencing the State administration according to the ideas of the times are the realistic stories in *Jātakas*. We may classify these stories under the following heads:—

Firstly, stories of mass demonstration by the people in front of the king's palace (under the threat of a dire natural calamity or of impending anarchy) of their advising the king to adopt remedies, and of the king's acquiescence in their demand. The demand involves in the different stories a king's self-mortification, and sacrifice of his own domestic happiness in the public interest. We have several instances of repetitions of this demonstration and of the king's yielding to the same every time. Naturally enough the lead is taken in such instances by the townsfolk.[2]

1. For a fuller treatment of the subject see the writer's work. *A History of Indian Political Ideas* pp. 133, 143-44.

2. *Stories of mass demonstrations of aggrieved subjects and their consequences*: (a) *Jāt*, No. 526, p. 193 (people of Kāsī kingdom afflicted with famine assemble at royal courtyard and reproaching the king ask him to cause rainfall): king takes upon himself the moral vows and observes fast; (b) *Jāt* No. 276. pp. 368-71 (people of Kalinga kingdom being afflicted with three-fold fear of draught, failure of crops and famine gather together in royal courtyard and upbraid the king; addressing them as his children the king decides to keep the holy vow for seven days: again consulting the townsfolk when this fails to produce rain, the king sends messengers to Vessantara, son of Sivi king for gift of a much esteemed elephant); (c) *Jāt*

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Secondly, stories of the people collectively forcing their will upon kings as regards specific acts of State. These acts relate in one story to the recall of a wise and virtuous minister from unmerited exile and in another story to the banishment of an overgenerous prince. The strength of the popular movement is illustrated in the first instance by the people's issuing an ultimatum to the king which is re-enforced by the threat of mass suicide in the event of refusal of this demand. It is proved still more in the second instance by the explicit admission of the king as well as of the prince that they are bowing to the popular will.[3]

Thirdly, stories of popular election and deposition of kings in exceptional circumstances. In two stories we read how, when the throne falls vacant, the townsfolk in association with the ministers (or themselves singly) elect a new king. In the third story, when a king is found guilty of being a man-eater, he is expelled from the city for refusing to give up his vicious habit inspite of appeals and threats by his cammander-in-chief and the townsfolk, in the

No. 489, pp. 317-18, No. 531, pp. 279-281, No. 538, p. 1 (demonstrations by townsfolk or else by townsfolk as well as by countryfolk before door of the royal palace for requiring a childless king to provide for a heir to the throne; the king at their demand goes through a course of prayer or fasting or attempts to acquire the state palladium of another king or even sends out his concubines or his virtuous queen to the streets for ceremonial prostitution); (d) *Jāt* No. 543, p. 303 (mass demonstrations at the king's palace for recall of wise minister who is being carried away by a yakkha after victory at a dice-play with the king: king assures the people that the sage will come back and bring smiles to their tearful faces).

3. *Stories of people forcing their will upon the king*: (a) *Jāt* No. 547, p. 490: (when the Sivi prince Vessantara out of excessive generosity gives away a much-esteemed state elephant to the messengers of the king of Kaliṅga. "the Uggas, the Rajaputtas, Vesiyas and Brahmanas, the troops of all and all the townsfolk, in fact the whole Sivi people" assembled together and declaring that the realm is being ruined compel the king under the dark threat of reprisal to banish his well-beloved son: The king bows to the popular demand with the declaration that this is the people's will and the king's messengers reaching the prince tell him that the Sivis and the townsmen wish him to go into banishment; even after the arrival at the Cheta kingdom, the prince does not allow messages to be sent to his father on the ground that the king was powerless in the matter and the Sivis might destroy him on his account).

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sequel he is restored to the throne after demonstration of his thorough reform with the concurrence of the townsfolk.[4]

Fourthly, stories of popular resistance against tyrants. In one story the king's tyranny makes him an object of such universal detestation that personal experience of the same is sufficient to make him rule righteously thereafter. In another story the people remain more or less passive spectators of the king's frightful act of tyranny until a divine intervention encourages them to kill his wicked adviser and drive him out of the city. In the other stories the people being goaded by the king's duplicity or ingratitude kill him in mad fury.[5]

4. *Stories of popular election and deposition of kings*: (a) *Jāt* No. 96, p. 395. (when a king of Takkasila is devoured by a Yakkhini in the disguise of his Chief Queen, all the amachchar and the townsmen with one voice consecrate a refugee prince, who is no other than the Bodhisatta in the city); (b) *Jāt* No. 132, p. 470 (giving a parallel version of the above); (c) *Jāt*. No. 537, pp. 460-511 (a king of Kāśī having turned into a man-eater refuses to give up this vicious habit inspite of the townsfolk's threat of his expulsion and the senapati's repeated appeals for reform: thereupon the king is expelled from the city and a new king selected in his place: in the sequel the man-eater is thoroughly reformed by the virtuous king of kuru and the new king along with the senapati and the king of kuru having allowed him to enter the city. the people are assembled by beat of drum and their fears are set at rest, and the old king is besprinkled afresh.

5. *Stories of popular resistance against tyrants*:—(a) *Jāt* No. 520, pp. 99-108 (after the people had been reduced to the utmost misery by the tyranny of a king and his ministers the king and his purohita are persuaded to wander out of the city in disguise. The king finds himself cursed successively by an old man whose foot is pierced with thorn, an old woman falling down from a bush, a ploughman whose ox is struck by a ploughshare, a milkman whose milk-pail is upset by a vicious cow, some village-boys grieving for a calf killed by the tax-gatherers, and last but not the least, by a frog whose fellows are being eaten up by crows. Being convinced of his universal detestation, the king returns to the city and thenceforth rules his kngdom with righteousness). (b) *Jāt* No. 542, pp. 131-57 (a wicked purohita by playing upon a king's desire of winning heaven makes him arrange for a sacrificial performance with his own wives, sons and daughters and four prominent townsfolk as victims: When the whole city out of pity prepares to follow the eldest virtuous prince at the time of his being led away to the sacrificial pit their attempt is frustated by the purohita; at the critical moment the king and the purohita are frightened by the intervention of the god Sakka into releasing their victims; then the crowd seize sticks and stones and beat the wicked purohita to death and they drove

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The conclusions which may be drawn from the above stories may be thus summarized. Firstly the people when thoroughly roused to a sense of seriousness of their grievances could and did play a decisive part in the administration, Secondly they could when thus aroused sharp a king's administrative acts and policy, Thirdly in exceptional cases they might even elect or depose a king and might be goaded into slaying a tyrant in the typical fashion of a mob-uprising. On the other hand, there is not the slightest evidence of a regularly constituted popular body habitually associated with the king's government The people thus described as influencing the king's administration were essentially an irregular body of men swiftly brought into prominence by the urgency of the occasion and no doubt dispersing as soon as the need was over. In these popular upheavals the lead was naturally taken by the inhabitants of the capital city under the guidance of the upper classes in their midst. To speak of constitutional powers belonging to the people would be in such circumstances to indulge in a gross anachronism.

the king to take refuge in an outcaste settlement). (c) *Jāt* No. 432, pp. 505-14, king engages a youth skilled in tracking foot-steps by a spell which he had learnt from his yakkhinī mother. On the advice of the purohita king tests the youth's skill by stealing his own jewels and then asking him to arrest the thief; when the youth publicly proves the king's guilt after vain attempts to dissuade him by a number of pointed stories, the assembled people rise up with sticks and clubs in their hands and beat the king and the priest to death; in his place they consecrate the youth as king. (d) *Jāt* No. 72, pp. 323-26. (Prince Wicked being saved from a watery grave by an ascetic vows revenge against his benefactor; when the ascetic comes to his capital after his accession to the throne he orders the virtuous man to be flogged at every street corner and taken out of the city for execution. When the ascetic discloses to the public his former service to the king, the townsfolk headed by the Kshatryas and the Brahmanas rush upon the tyrant from every side and kill him.

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Successors of the Satavahanas

BY

Dr. M. Rama Rao

The period intervening between the end of Sātavāhana rule in or about 220 A.D. and the foundation of Eastern Cāḷukyan rule in 624 A.D., conveniently designated as the post-Sātavāhana period, constitutes the second important epoch in the history of eastern Deccan. This region was cut up during this period, into a number of small principalities and ruled over by many independent dynasties, known together as the successors of the Sātavāhanas. Much has been written about this period and these dynasties previously but important epigraphical and numismatic material, recently brought to light, necessitates a re-examination of the history of this period, particularly the genealogies and chronologies of the important dynasties that ruled during this period.

I. *The Ikṣvākus*

The Ikṣvākus were the earliest dynasty that rose to fame immediately after the fall of the imperial Sātavāhanas. They were kinsmen of the Sātavāhanas and familiarly known as the Āndhras of Śrīparvata.[1] A large number of inscriptions of this family have been brought to light during the course of the excavations conducted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley and they help us in reconstructing the genealogy and chronology of the Ikṣvāku dynasty.

There were four generations of rulers in the Ikṣvāku family. Cāṁtamūla I was the founder of the independence of this family and an *aśvamēdhin*.[2] The duration of his rule is not known nor has any inscription of his time came to light. He was succeeded by his son, Vīrapurisadatta, whose 20th regnal year is known from inscriptions.[3] This king was followed by his son, Cāṁta-

1. Pargiter—*Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 46.
2. *E.I.*, XX, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions, B2.
3. *Ibid.*, inscription L.

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mūla II, who is known to have ruled for at least 24 years.[4] Cāṁtamūla II was followed by his son, Rudrapurisadatta, whose 11th regnal year is known from inscriptions.[5] Thus Ikṣvāku inscriptions supply four generations of rulers and a minimum of 55 years (20+24+11) for the durations of their rule. Since Cāṁtamūla I was an *aśvamēdhin*, he may be assigned a reign of about 20 years. This gives a total duration of 75 years for Ikṣvāku rule. If the date of the commencement of Ikṣvāku rule is taken to be the same as that of the end of Sātavāhana rule, the period of Ikṣvāku rule would be 218-293[6] A.D. or if a narrow margin of about two years is allowed for the establishment of independent Ikṣvāku rule after the fall of the Sātavāhanas, the duration of Ikṣvāku rule would be from 220 to 295 A.D.

It is necessary to consider here a startling theory propounded by Dr. D. C. Sircar regarding the chronology of the Ikṣvākus.[7] The basis of this theory is a couple of inscriptions obtained during the course of the excavations in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley, one belonging to the time of Vīrapurisadatta and supposed to contain the cyclic year, Vijaya, and the other belonging to the reign of his son, Cāṁtamūla II and also supposed to contain the cyclic year, Vijaya. These two cyclic years falling then in the reigns of a father and his son are taken to correspond to 273-74 and 333-34 A.D. respectively. Taking the year Vijaya corresponding to 333 A.D. to be the last regnal year of Cāṁtamūla II and the first year of the rule of his son, Rudrapurisadatta, and adding to it eleven years, the known duration of the latter's reign, Dr. Sircar concludes that (334 + 11 =) 345 A.D. was the last year of Ikṣvāku rule. Taking 225 A.D. as the initial year of the rule of this dynasty and assigning a reign of 25 years for each ruler, this writer formulates the chronology of the Ikṣvākus as follows:—

Cāṁtamūla I	225-250
Vīrapurisadatta	250-275
Ābhīra interregnum	275-285
Cāṁtamūla II	285-334
Purisadattā II	334-345

4. *Ind. Arch.*, 1957-58, p. 6.
5. *E.I.*, XX, Nagārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions.
6. Rama Rao—*Sātavāhana Commemoration Volume.*
7. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI-1, pp. 23-28.

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An inscription of a new Ābhīra king, named Vasusēna, dated in the 30th year, has also been obtained from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[8] Dr. Sircar holds that this year 30 is of the Trakikūṭa era which was started in 248 A.D. and ascribes it to 278-79 A.D. On the basis of this record, this writer postulates an Ābhīra interregnum of ten years' duration within the period of Ikṣvāku rule and assigns it to 275-285 A.D. In the alternative, it is stated, that this year 30 may be taken to be the regnal year of Vasusēna, that it may be ascribed, on paleographical grounds, to either the second half of the third or the first half of the fourth century and that, in this case, it follows that there was a joint attack of the Pallavas and Ābhīras terminating the rule of the Ikṣvākus. There are several objections to this view. Firstly, it is doubtful if the two Nāgarjunakoṇḍa inscriptions contain the cyclic year Vijaya, and if the practice of mentioning the cyclic year prevailed as early as in the first half of the third century A.D. All the other Ikṣvāku inscriptions mention only the regnal year of the king concerned, following the example of the Sātavāhana inscriptions. It would be very strange if, in view of this, only two records of the Ikṣvākus mentioned the cyclic year. Secondly, the total duration of 120 years for the rule of the Ikṣvākus, which results from the arrangement advocated by Dr. Sircar, is against the testimony of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions themselves. These inscriptions allow for a maximum duration of 75 years. In the third place, there is nothing to justify the ascription of 49 years to the reign of Cāṁtamūla II while inscriptions give him a reign of ony 24 years. In the case of Rudrapurisadatta, this writer allows the latest year given by the inscriptions. Similarly, while the inscriptions give Virapurisadatta a reign of 20 years, Dr. Sircar makes his rule last for 25 years. Thus this addition of 30 years is arbitrary and unjustified. In the fourth place, the so called Ābhīra interregnum vanishes into thin air if the years 30 is taken to denote the 30th regnal year of Vasusēna. Further, the reigns of Vīrapurisadatta and his son, Cāṁtamūla II, witnessed remarkable building activity in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley[9] which would not have been possible if there was an Ābhīra invasion and occupation of the Ikṣvāku capital at this

8. *Ind. Arch.*, 1957-58, p. 6.
9. *E.I.*, XX, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions.

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time. In the fifth place, if this period of ten years of so called Ābhīra interregnum and thirty years, arbitrarily added, as shown above, are deducted from a total of 120 years assigned by Dr. Sircar for the duration of Ikṣvāku rule, it follows that the Ikṣvākus actually ruled for (120-40) = about eight years which is almost the same as the 75 years reasonably deduced from the dates contained in Ikṣvāku inscriptions. In the seventh place, this theory conflicts with several well established facts of contemporary history. King Jayavarman of the Bṛhatpalāyana gōtra is known to have ruled over an area which extended up to the Kolleru like in the north and which covered the northern half of the Guntur district in the south.[10] This king is known to have ruled for a minimum period of ten years.[11] He could not have ruled independently while the Ikṣvākus were still in power. If so, his reign has to be ascribed to 345-355 A.D. according to Dr. Sircar's chronology. This date is untenable because for long time before the Gupta invasion, the Krishna-Godavary region was ruled by the Śālankāyanas. This shows that the end of Ikṣvāku rule must be before 300 A.D. at the latest. In the next place, Dr. Sircar's chronology conflicts seriously with the facts of Śālankāyana and Viṣṇukuṇḍin history. The Maruturu plates of Pulakēśin II,[12] recently published, show that Pulakēśin's conquest of the coastal districts was completed by 616 A.D. Allowing a very short period for the rule of the Durjayas over this area we have to ascribe the end of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule to 615 A.D. as will be shown below. It is well known that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and their predecessors, the Śālankayanas ruled over Vēṅgī for about three centuries. It is certain that there were at least three generations of rulers in the Śālankāyana dynasty before Hastivarman, contemporary of Samudragupta.[13] This too indicates the impossibility of the prevalence of Ikṣvāku rule about the middle of the fourth century A.D. In the last place, certain facts of Pallava history are also against the theory of Dr. Sircar. The dominions of the Ikṣvākus extended into the Guntur-Nellore districts. There is an inscription of Simha-

10. D. C. Sircar—*Successors of the Sātavāhanas.*
11. *E.I.* VI, pp. 315-319.
12. *C. P. Grants of A. P. Govt. Museum,* pp. 11-39.
13. See *infra.*

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varman, the earliest known Pallava king at Manchikallu[14] which is very near Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Dr. Sircar assigns this king to 315-45 A.D. and considers him to have put an end to Ikṣvāku rule. The Manchikallu inscription does not give any regal title to Simhavarman and must therefore be assigned to a date before 315 A.D., in which year the king's reign is said to have commenced and not to the period when Simhavarman ruled as a Maharajā. This too shows that Ikṣvāku rule ended before 315 A.D. For these reasons the theory of Dr. Sircar cannot be accepted.

The theory of Ābhīra interregnum propounded by this writer is equally untenable. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of Ābhīra Vasusēna, which is the basis of this theory just states that in the 9th year of Vasusēna[15] an image of Aṣṭabhujasvāmin was consecrated and that on that occasion Ābhīra Vasusēna, Śivasēna of the Kauśika Gōtra the Yavana princes of Saṅjayapurī, Śaka Rudradāman of Avanti, and Viṣṇurudra Śivalānanda Sātakarṇi of Vanavāsa were present. It is quite possible that the Sātakarṇi ruler of Vanavāsa was the son-in-law of Vīrapurisadatta. It is also possible that Śaka Rudradaman of Avanti was a kinsman of the queen of Cāṁtamūla I, who was the daughter of a mahākṣātrapa.[16] It is thus evident that there was a gathering of friends and relations of the Ikṣvākus at the time of the consecration of the image of Aṣṭabhujasvāmin and not that there was an invasion by Ābhīra Vasusēna and his allies, as supposed by Dr. Sircar.

In view of what has been stated above we have to take 220 A.D. as the initial year of Ikṣvāku rule and 75 years as its duration. The chronology of this dynasty may then be formulated as follows:

Cāṁtamūla I	220-240 A.D.
Vīrapurisadatta	240-260 A.D.
Cāṁtamūla II	260-284 A.D.
Rudrapurisadatta	284-295 A.D.

14. *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Souvenir*, p. 28.
15. *Ind. Arch.*, 1958-59, p. 8 and pl. V a.
16. *Ibid.*, 1957-58, p. 6.

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II. *The Śālankāyanas*

The recent discovery of two Prakṛt grants, the Kānukollu plates of Nandivarman and the plates of Yuvamahārāja Caṇḍavarman and the Sanskrit plates of mahārāja Skandavarman, necessitates a re-examination of the genealogy and chronology of this important dynasty that ruled over Vēṅgī in the post-Sātavāhana period.

The following is the information derived from the C. P. grants of the family now available:

Kānukollu Prakṛt plates[17]

(a) Mahārāja Nandivarman
(b) Bālaka Mahārāja Khamda Potti (14th year)

Ellore prakṛt plates[18]

Vijayadēvavarman, *aśvamēdhin* (13th year)

Kānukollu Sanskrit plates[19]

Hastivarman I
|
Nandivarman I
|
Hastivarman II
|
Skandavarman (1st year)

Pedavēgi plates[20]

Hastivarman
|
Nandivarman
|
Caṇḍavarman
|
Nandivarman II x

Kolleru plates[21]

Caṇḍavarman
|
Vijayanandivarman (7th year) x

Kanthēdu plates[22]

Nandivarman

Kanthēru plates[23]

Vijaya-Skanda Varman (1st year)

17. *Bhārati*, January, 1950, pp. 69-84.
18. *E.I.*, IX, pp. 56-59.
19. *Ancient India*, No. 5, pl. XIX and XX.
20. *JAHRS* I. pp. 92-102; *Bhārati*, August, 1924.
21. *I.A.*, V, pp. 175-177.
22. *JAHRS*, V, pp. 21. 32.
23. *E.I.*, XXV, pp. 42-47.

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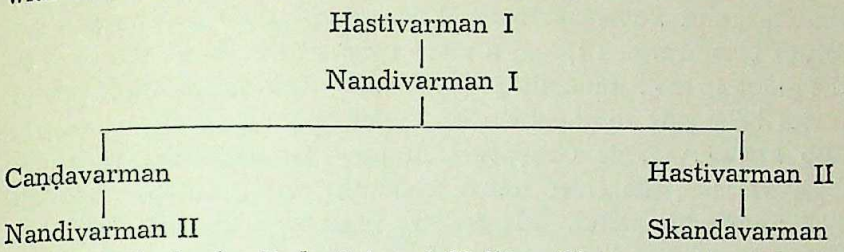
Of these, the Kānukollu and Pedavēgi plates seem to accord with each other and give the following pedigree:



Since both the Pedavēgi and Kollēru Plates mention Nandivarman II as the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman, the Nandivarman of both the plates has to be taken to be identical. Since the Nandivarman of the Pedavēgi plates and the Kanthēru plates is described as a *Paramabhāgavata,* he can be taken to be the same person. Thus Nandivarman, the donor of the Pedavēgi, Kollēru and Kanthēru plates, seems to be identical. The other Kanthēru grant does not give any information about the ancestry of its donor, Vijayaskandavarman. Since Vijaya is common to both this ruler and Nandivarman and ṣince the later is described as the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman, it may be presumed, tentatively, that Vijayaskandavarman was the younger brother of (Vijaya) Nandivarman.

The rulers mentioned in the Kānukollu and Ellore Prākṛt charters have now to be considered. The Kānukollu plates were issued in the 14th year of the reign of mahārāja Nandivarman (I) for the increase of the power of *Bālakamahārāja* Khaṁdapotti. The executor of the grant was the son of a mahārāja. "Potta" in the expression, "Khamda-potta", is said to mean Pautra or grandson.[24] This is said to raise the important question, was Khaṁda or Skanda a grandson or son of Nandivarman? These plates also mention a Hathisvami before the name of the executor of the grant. It has been suggested that this Hastisvamin is to be taken as Hastivarman, that he was the father of Nandivarman, that Khaṁdapotti or Skanda, the pautra, was the grandson of this Hastivarman and that Nandivarman was ruling while his father, Hastivarman, was alive. This view does not seem to be reasonable. "Pōta" in the expression "Khaṁdapotta" is an honorific suffix like "Pōra" and "Pōri".[25] The expression Bālakamahārāja

24. Sarma—*Vijñānasarvasvamu,* p. 112.
25. *E.I.,* XXIII, p. 58.

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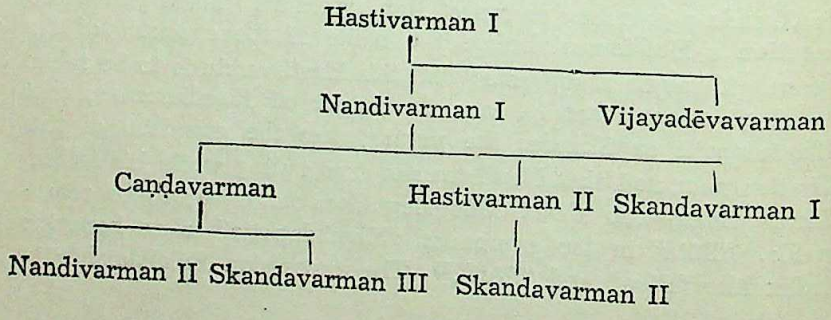
seems to be equivalent of Yuvamahārāja of the Pallava inscriptions. "Bālakamahārāja Khaṁda Potta" would then mean Skanda-pōta, the Bālaka or Yuvamahārāja. It is quite possible that he was the son of Nandivarman I, and a mere *bālaka* or child at the time of the grant of the Kānukollu prākṛt plates. One more set of prakṛt plates belonging to the time of Yuvamahārāja Caṇḍavarman, is also known. This Caṇḍavarman may be identified with the Caṇḍavarman, the elder son of Nandivarman I, of the Pedavēgi and Kānukollu plates. It follows from this identification that Nandivarman I had three sons—Hastivarman II who succeeded the father and ruled, Caṇḍavarman who was for some time a Yuvamahārāja and Skandavarman who was a mere child in the 14th regnal year of his father. The interpretation that Hathisāmi, occurring in the Kānukollu plates, means a king named Hastivarman, and the surmise based on it are also untenable. Hathisāmi may mean *Hastisvāmi* or master of the elephants and nothing more.[26] Now remains one more king, Vijayadēvavarman, of the Ellore plates. Since his plates are in Prākṛt he must have flourished about the same time as Nandivarman I and his son Yuvamahārāja Caṇḍavarman. Since the records mentioning the name of the month and *pakṣa* are known to be later than those which mention the Ṛutu and pakṣa and since the Ellore plates mention the month and *pakṣa,* they must be taken to be later than the Kānukollu Prākṛt plates. Vijayadēvavarman must therefore have flourished after Nandivarman I. I consider him, tentatively, as a younger brother of Nandivarman I.

The comprehensive genealogy of the Śālankāyanas may then be stated as follows:



26. *Bhārati.* January, 1950, pp. 72-73 and 84.

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Of these Caṇḍavarman is known only as Yuvamahārāja and Skandavarman I as mere Bālaka. It is doubtful if both these ever ruled as independent sovereigns. It may therefore be taken that there were seven rulers in the Śālankāyana family.

The next problem relates to the Chronology of these kings. One reliable fact that is of use in this connection is that a Hastivarman of this family was the *Vaingēyaka Hastivarman,* a contemporary of Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century. Since Hastivarman I of the Śālankāyana family was the father of two rulers known from Prākṛts grants, he cannot be taken to have been the contemporary of the Gupta monarch. If so, Hastivarman II must be taken to have been the adversary of Samudragupta. Since the rule of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins must have ended by 615 A.D. and commenced about 475 A.D. as will be shown below, Śālankāyana rule might be taken to have ended in 475 A.D. Inscriptions mention the 13th year of Vijayadēvavarman and the 14th year of his predecessor, Nandivarman. These two were preceded by Hastivarman I. So the first three rulers of the family might have ruled for about 50 years before Hastivarman II of about the middle of the 4th century A.D. This shows that Śālankāyana rule might have started about 300 A.D. This date is confirmed by the fact that the Ikṣvākus ceased to rule about 295 A.D. as stated above and that the Śālankāyanas could have risen to power only after that date.

I would therefore state Śālankāyana Chronology as follows:

Hastivarman I	—	300—325 A.D.
Nandivarman I	—	325—350 „
Vijaydēvavarman	—	350—375 „
Hastivarman II	—	375—400 „
Skandavarman II	—	400—425 „
Nandivarman II	—	425—450 „
Skandavarman III	—	450—475 „

III. *The Ānanda Gōtra kings*

A line of rulers describing themselves as belonging to the Ānanda gōtra, ruled over the northern part of the Guntur district during the post-Sātavāhana period and played a prominent part in the tangled politics of the time.

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They are known to us from two c.p. grants and one stone inscription. The Mattepāḍu plates,[27] issued from Vijayakandarapura, record the gift of a village by Dāmōdaravarman, described as a devotee of *Samyaksambuddha*, as of Ānanda gōtra and as *Hiraṇya-garbhōdbha-vōdbhava*. The grant was made in the second year of the reign. The Gōrantla plates[28] of Attivarman register the king's gift of a village and some land. The donor is described as of the Ānanda gōtra and of the family of Kāndara and as a *Hiraṇyagarbhōdbhava*. The Chējerla stone inscription[29] belongs to the time of a dauhitra of Kandararāja. This Kandara is said to have killed many enemy elephants in a battle at Dhānyakaṭaka, to have caused the widowhood of many Āndhra women and to have been the Lord of Trikūṭaparvata. He ruled over Kandarapura and two janapadas and belonged to the gōtra of the sage Ānanda.

The first question that arises is how many rulers were there in the dynasty? Hultzsch and Fleet who edited the c.p. grants did not take into account the stone inscription. Hultzsch concerned himself only with the question of precedence between Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman. Among recent writers, Dr. D. C. Sircar referred to the stone inscription but never took it into consideration. Dr. Gopalachari discussed the paleography of these records at length and placed Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman after Kandra of the Chēzerla inscription, identifying thereby, the two Kandaras.[30] According to this view, there would be only three rulers in this line—Dāmōdaravarman, Attivarman and Kandara besides Kandara's grandson. But there are several strong reasons for placing the two c.p. grants before the stone incription and concluding that there were at least four kings in this family—Kandara I, Dāmōdaravarman, Attivarman, and Kandara II, besides Kandara II's grandson.

The next problem is that of the mutual relation of these rulers. None of the grants mention the genealogy of the donor. Attivarman is described as *hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* while Dāmōdaravarman figures is *hiraṇyagarbhō-dbhavōdbhava*. The last phrase

27. *E.I.*, XVII, pp. 327-330.
28. *I.A.*, IX, p. 103.
29. *SII.*, VI, 594.
30. *Early History of Andhradēśa*, pp. 186-194.

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गुरुकुल काँगड़ी

indicates that Dāmōdaravarman's father was a *hirāṇyagarbhōdbhava*. The two c.p. grants resemble each other closely and do not admit any long interval. On these grounds Dr. Sircar has suggested that Dāmōdaravarman may be taken to have been a son of Attivarman.[31] Dr. Gopalachari however postulated a long interval between the two c. p. grants, assigned the Gōraṇṭla plates to a far later date and considered Attivarman to have been a distant and unrelated successor of Dāmōdaravarman.[32] Another fact mentioned in this connection is that Buddha worship was earlier than the worship of Śiva, that Dāmōdaravarman was a devotee of the Buddha and that he must have therefore preceded Attivarman. Actually, however, there is one important consideration that helps us considerably in this connection. The names of the donees are all in the Prākṛt language in the Maṭṭēpaḍu plates and this is conclusive evidence of their earlier date. The Gōraṇṭla plates, which are entirely in Sanskrit, and their donor, Attivarman, must have been later.

Of the three Ānanda gōtra records two are not dated and only the Maṭṭepāḍu plates are dated in the second year of the reign of Dāmōdaravarman. But this does not help us in fixing his age. The chronology of these rulers must be determined, therefore, on other grounds. Hultzsch has remarked that the alphabet of the Maṭṭepāḍu plates is of an early southern type.[33] Dr. Sircar held that the characters of the Gōraṇṭla plates resemble those of the Ikṣvāku inscriptions and that the two Ānanda gōtra c.p. grants resemble each other very closely and assigned Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman to the second half of the fourth century A.D. Dr. Gopalachari compares the characters of the Chēzerla stone inscription with a record of Pallava Mahēndravarman I, incised on the other side of the stone, postulates an interval of 30 to 35 years between the two and assigns Kandara to the first quarter and his grandson to the third quarter of the sixth century.[35] He also holds that the alphabet of the Maṭṭepāḍu

31. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*. p. 57.
32. *Earl. Hist. Andhr.*, p. 194.
33. *E.I.*, II, p. 329.
34. *Suc. Sata.*, p. 56.
35. *Early Hist. Andhr.*, pp. 186-187.

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plates resembles that of the Pikira and Mangadūr grants of Pallava Siṁhavarman II and surmises that Dāmōdaravarman flourished not earlier than 550 A.D. This view is the result of a serious mistake. Even if Siṁhavarman I is taken to be the king mentioned in the Lōkavibhāga, his date, according to that very work, would be S. 358-380 or 436-458 A.D. Siṁhavarman II was his immediate successor and could not, as such, have flourished later than the third quarter of the same century. If his Pikira and Mangadūr grants resemble the Maṭṭepāḍu plates, Dāmōdaravarman must have flourished in the third or last quarter of the fifth century. This writer assigns Attivarman to the second quarter of the seventh century at the earliest. This date is also untenable. The northern part of the Guntur district was under the rule of Viṣṇuvardhana I (624-642) and his son, Jayasimha I (642-673) in the second and third quarters of the seventh century A.D., and formed part of the Eastern Cāḷukyan dominion. It is therefore wrong to assign Attivarman to this period.

A careful study of the contemporary history of coastal Āndhradēśa and of the contents of the Pallava and Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions helps us to solve the Ānanda gōtra problem. The Ānanda gōtras are not mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. Vengi Cāḷukyan rule was established on the east coast, including the Guntur district, by 624 A.D. Hence the period of these Ānanda gōtra kings must be between 350-600 A.D. The Allahabad inscription mentions, after Hastivarman of Vēṅgī, an Ugrasēna of Palakka whose identity is not known. This Palakka is taken to be identical with Palakkada, Palakkara or Palotkata which figures in the later Pallava grants and located in the Nellore district. Thus about the time of the Gupta invasion there seems to be no ruler in the Guntur District. The earliest known later Pallava inscriptions found in the Guntur district are the Chandalūr plates of Kumāraviṣṇu[36] and the Omgōḍu grant of Skandavarman. The latter was issued from Taṁbrāpa, identified with Chebrol in the northern part of the Guntur district, and contain a gift made in the *Karmarāṣṭra*. Skandavarman's father, Vīravarman, is described as having obtained victories in many battles[37]

36. *E.I.*, VIII, pp. 233-236.
37. Cf. Omgōḍu grant in *E.I.*, XV, pp. 249-52.

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and his grandfather, Skandavarman, is said to have obtained a kingdom by his valour.[38] Taking all these facts into consideration it may be argued that the Pallavas lost their hold over the Guntur district some time before the Gupta invasion, that Skandavarman and Vīravarman had to carry on a bitter struggle in order to recover it, that some one was in occupation of this region and offered them stiff resistance and that ultimately Skandavarman could complete this process of recovery by penetrating almost up to the Krishna in the north. Since the Ānanda gōtra kings flourished in the northern part of the Guntur district they should, in all probability, be the rivals of the later Pallavas. Kandara I of the Ānanda gōtra may, therefore, be assigned to 375-400 A.D.

Another important feature of Pallava history helps us further. As indicated by his Uruvapalli[39] and Neduṁgarāya[40] grants, Siṁhavarman I's rule seems to have been confined to the *Muṇḍarāṣṭra*. His immediate successor, Siṁhavarman II, made gifts not only in *Muṇḍarāṣṭra* but also in the *Karmarāṣṭra* and *Vēṅgōrāṣṭra*. The last mentioned region is taken to be identical with territory lying to the north of the Krishna. This shows that there was another wave of Pallava aggression under the lead of Siṁhavarman II. It seems as though Pallava authority over the *Karmarāṣṭra* was temporarily eclipsed during the reign of Siṁhavarman I. This may as well be due to Ānanda gōtra aggression. Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman may, hence, be assigned to this period i.e., 425-475 A.D.

The last Pallava ruler known from the Sanskrit grants to have ruled over coastal Andhra desa is Viṣṇugōpa. He flourished between 475-500 A.D. The list of Pallava rulers found in the Vayalur Pillar inscription is pressed into service here and three rulers, Siṁhavarman, Siṁhaviṣṇu and Mahēndravarman I, are located after Viṣṇugōpa. There is no evidence of the rule of the first two kings of this group in the coastal districts. Mahēndravarman's reign assigned to 600-630, is attested by the Chēzerla inscription. The later half of the sixth century was the time of

38. *Ibid.*

39. *I.A.*, V, pp. 50-53.

40. *Bhārati*, XVIII, pp. 699-713.

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Viṣṇukuṇḍin aggression to the south of the Krishna as will be shown below. It is very likely, therefore, that Simhavarman and Simhaviṣṇu did not rule over this region. There would thus be another gap of about 50 years in Pallava rule over the Guntur district. Kandara II and his grandson may be assigned to this period 500-550 A.D.

In view of what has been stated above, the chronology of the Ānanda gōtra kings may be stated as follows:

Kandara I	—	375—400 A.D.
Dāmōdaravarman	—	425—450 „
Attivarman	—	450—475 „
Kandara II	—	500—525 „
Kandara II's grandson	—	525—550 „

IV. *The Viṣṇukuṇḍins*

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were the most powerful dynasty that ruled over coastal Āndhradēśa during the post-Śātavāhana period. They are known to us from the Polamūru,[41] Īpūr I,[42] Īpūr II,[43] Rāmatīrtham,[44] Chikkulla[45] and Tuṇḍi[46] plates and a stone inscription from Vipparls.

The genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family has been a matter of serious controversy. Several writers have formulated divergent schemes, some holding that there was unilateral succession among nine generations and others proposing a scheme with collateral branches.

41. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 463-80.
42. *E.I.*, XVII, pp. 334-337.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 337-339.
44. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 133-136.
45. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 193-98.
46. *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series*, No. 8.

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Inscriptions supply the following useful information:

Polamūru plates	*Īpūr I plates*	*Īpūr II plates*
Vikramahēndra	——	——
Gōvindavarman	Gōvindavarman	——
Mādhavavarman Performer of 1000 *Kratus* and the beloved of the women of Trivara-nagara	Mādhavavarman Performer of 1000 *agniṣṭōmas,* and beloved of the women of Trivara-nagara	Mādhavavarman I Performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *Kratus*
		Dēvavarman
		Mādhavavarman II Lord or Trikūṭa-Malaya

Rāmatīrtham plates	*Chikkuḷḷa and Tundi plates*
Mādhavavarman	Mādhavavarman
Performer of eleven *aśvamē-dhas* and 1000 *kratus*	Performer of eleven *aśvamē-dhas* and 1000 *kratus*
Vikramēndravarman	Vikramēndravarman
Ornament of two families	Ornament of the Viīṣṇukuṇḍin and Vākāṭaka families
Indravarman	Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman
Obtained victories in battles of four-tusked elephants.	Obtained victories in battles of four-tusked elephants.
	Vikramendravarman

The three generations given in the Rāmatīrtham plates are identical with the first three generations mentioned in the Chikkuḷḷa plates. Similarly, the description of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman of Īpūr II plates is identical with that given in the Chikkuḷḷa and Rāmatīrtham plates. For this reason, the Mādhavavarman of all the three plates has to be taken to be identical.

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This basic identification yields the following genealogy:

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman

(Performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas*)

and one thousand *Kratus*

Dēvavarman	Vikramēndravarman
Mādhavavarman II	Indrabhaṭṭāraka
	Vikramēndravarman II

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman figures with identical description and as the son of Gōvindavarman in both Īpūr I, Polamūru and Rāmatīrtham plates. He may therefore be taken to have been one and the same person. This identification gives the following genealogy:

Vikramahēndra

Mahārāja Gōvindavarman *alias* Vikramāśraya

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman *alias* Janāśraya

Mancaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka

We thus have two groups of kings. One problem that arises at this juncture pertains to the relationship between these two groups of rulers. Several suggestions have been made is this connection. Hultzsch held that the alphabet of the Rāmatīrtham plates resembles that of the Chikkuḷḷa plates and identified Mādhavavarman, the donor of the Īpūr I plates with the Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatīrtham plates. He also held that the Īpūr I plates are earlier than the Īpūr II plates and suggested that Mādhavavarman II of Īpūr II, Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa plates was the grandfather of the Mādhavavarman, son of Gōvindavarman of the Polamūru and Īpūr I plates. Accordingly, he designated Mādhavavarman, son of Gōvindavarman, as Mādhavavarman III. This lead was followed by other writers. Lakshmanarao, guided also by the temporal proximity of Mādhavavarman of the Polamūru plates to

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the second Eastern Cāḷukyan king, Jayasiṁha I, formulated a unilateral genealogy as follows.[47]

Mādhavavarman I
|
Dēvavarman
|
Mādhavavarman II
|
Vikramēndra I
|
Indrabhaṭṭāraka
|
Vikramēndra II
|
Gōvindavarman
|
Mādhavavarman III
|
Mancaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka

This long genealogy is the result of two identifications (1) of Mādhavavarman II of Īpūr II plates with the Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa plates and (2) of Vikramēndra of the Polamūru plates with Vikramēndravarman II of the Chikkuḷḷa plates. Writers like Krishnarao, Sarma and Subbarao followed this lead.[48] Both the indentifications are wrong. Mādhavavarman II of the Īpūr II plates is described as the Lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya while the Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa plates is described as the performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus*. Further, Mādhavavarman I, the grandfather of the Mādhavavarman II of the Īpūr II plates, is described in identical terms. It is certain, therefore, that Mādhavavarman of Īpūr I plates and Mādhavavarman of the Chikkuḷḷa and Rāmatīrtham plates cannot be identical. Similarly, the first king in the Polamūru plates is Vikramahēndra and not Vikramēndra. He is described as of unimpeded command and as the overlord of several vassal kings, while Vikramēndra II is described in different terms.

47. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, p. 404.
48. *Bhārati*, August, 1934; *JAHRS*, V-3, p. 184 and VI-1, p. 19.

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Vikramahēndra was a devotee of the Lord of Śrīparvata while Vikramēndra II was a Paramamāhēśvara. The writers mentioned above seem to rely upon the statement of the Madras Epigraphist that the alphabat of the Polamūru grant is much later compared with that of the Chikkuḷḷa and Rāmatīrtham plates, but they failed to take notice of the further remark of the Epigraphist that "if Vikramahēndra is identical with Vikramēndra and could be identified with the Vikramēndra II of the Chikkuḷḷa plates, two further generations of Viṣṇukuṇḍins may be supplied by these plates. But it is very doubtful if, on account of the later type of the characters we can do so".[49] One writer derived a curious genealogy of ten kings consisting of four Mādhavavarmans and two Gōvindavarmans following strictly the so called paleographical order of the plates viz—Īpūr I, Īpūr II, Rāmatīrtham, Chikkuḷḷa and Polamūru.[50] This view is entirely in conflict with the internal evidence of the inscriptions. Even a cursory glance at the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions shows that the successions were not unilateral as supposed by these writers but collateral. Mādhavavarman, the performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas,* and 1000 *kratus* being the common ancestor, two branches were descended from him, one through Dēvavarman and the other through Vikramēndravarman I, whose mother was a Vākāṭaka princes. Further, according to this unilateral genealogical table, there would be two kings, Mādhavavarman I and his seventh successor, Mādhavavarman III, both performers of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus*, in the same family within a very short interval of time. Lastly, this scheme of nine rulers places the commencement of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule about 400 A.D. according to two writers.[51] This date is impossible because up to about the middle of the fifth century A.D. it was that Śālankāyana and not the Viṣṇukuṇḍin that ruled over Vēṅgī. Further, there is no justification for assigning a regnal period to Mancaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka because he was just a young lad during the life time of his father and does not seem to have succeeded him. Again, Dēvavarman and Mādhavavarman II are not described as rulers and the later seems to have been under the authority of an *Adhirāja.* Thus three out of the nine rulers of

49. *MER,* 1914 Pt-3, para 35.
50. Subrahmanian—*Andhra Buddhism* etc., p. 113.
51. *JAHRS,* VI-1, p. 19 and V-3, p. 185.

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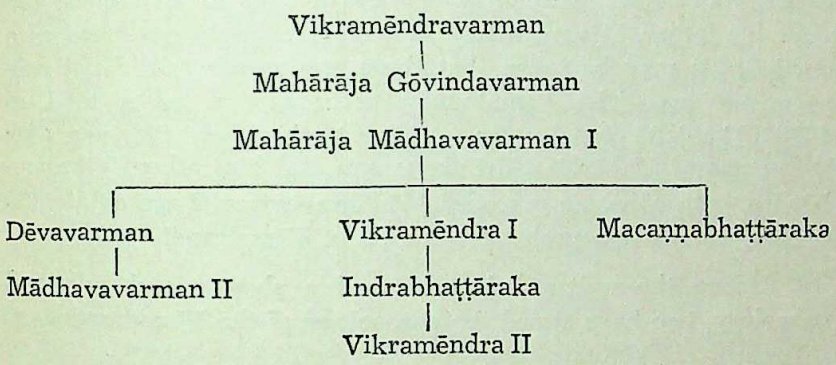
the long genealogical list do not seem to have ruled and the ascription of reign periods to these members of the viṣṇukuṇḍin family in the chronological schemes given by the writers mentioned above is incorrect. Mahārāja Mādhavavarman figuring in all the published grants of this family is described uniformly as the performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus* and there is no objection to his being considered as one and the same individual. This is my own view[52] and the view of Drs. Sircar[53] and Gopalachari.[54]

The genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins may be stated as follows:



The chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, like its genealogy, has been a controversial problem and several schemes have been proposed by previous writers. The determination of this chronology involves several questions viz., what were the limits of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule? What was the total duration of the rule?

A family of kings belonging to the Śālankāyana gōtra and popularly known as the Śālankāyanas are known to have ruled over the Vēṅgī region till about the middle of the fifth century A.D. Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule over the same region would, therefore, be possible only after the end of Śālankāyana rule. Similarly, the Eastern Cālukyas founded their rule over part of coastal Āndhradēśa in 624 A.D. and this shows that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins must have disappeared by that date. Thus it can be held in a general way

52. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1941, p. 198.
53. *Suc. Sat.*, p. 104.
54. *Early Hist. Andhra*, p. 204.

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that Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule lasted from about the middle of the fifth century to some time in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.

Of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscription, the Polamūru plates are dated in the 48th regnal year of Mādhavavarman I, the Rāmatīrtham plates in the 27th year of Indravarman and the Chikkuḷḷa plates in 10th year of Vikramēndravarman II. The Īpūr I plates were issued by the same king eleven years earlier than the Polamūru plates and so their date need not be taken into consideration. Since the Īpūr II plates mention an *Adhirāja* and the 47th year, this date must be taken to be the regnal year of the *Adhirāja* or sovereign ruler. As Mādhavavarman II does not have any regal titles, and since his father, Dēvavarman also is not definitely described as a mahārāja it may be taken that these two members did not rule as sovereigns. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin records give us a total of (48+27+10) 85 regnal years. Adding to this about fifty years for the reigns of Mahārāja Gōvindavarman and his father, Vikramahēndra, both of whom preceded Mādhavavarman I, we obtain 135 or 140 years as the probable duration of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule.

Among the writers who proposed a shorter and collateral genealogy, two have stated the chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins as follows:

Dr. Gopalachari[55]		*D. C. Sirkar*[56]	
		Vikramahēndra	500-520
		Gōvindavarman	520-535
		Mādhavavarman I	535-585
Mādhavavarman	553-593	Mādhavavarman II	585-615
Vikramēndra I	593-618	Vikramēndra I	615-625
Indrabhaṭṭāraka	618-643	Indrabhaṭṭāraka	625-655
Vikramēndra II	643-668	Vikramēndra II	655-670

These two schemes are based upon certain presumptions—(1) that the expedition of Pulakēśin II, the celebrated ruler of the Early Cāḷukyan family, did not result in the conquest of Vēṅgī (2) that the last Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the first two Eastern Cāḷukyan rulers were contemporaries and (3) that the Eastern Cāḷukyas

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.
56. *Suc. Sat.*, p. 112.

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took Vēṅgī direct from the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. All these presumptions are against well established facts of contemporary history and therefore untenable. Dr. Sircar holds that there is no evidence to show that Pulakēśin II conquered Vēṅgī during the course of his campaign described in the Aihole inscription though he admits that Kaunāla, taken by the Cāḷukyas, is the Kollēru lake, situated very near Vēṅgī. He adds that Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka invaded the Viśākhapatnam district while the first two Eastern Cāḷukyan kings, Viṣṇuvardhana I and Jayasiṁha I, were in possession of it. According to him, Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule ended "possibly about the end of the seventh or somewhere in the eighth century A.D."[57] Dr. Gopalachari held that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were still ruling in the Vēṅgī country when Pulakēśin invaded it in the beginning of the seventh century.[58] These writers have committed the unfortunate mistake of neglecting a significant passage in the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśin.[59] The significance of the eastern campaign of this Cāḷukyan monarch can be understood properly only if the Aihōle inscription and the Kopparam plates are taken together. The Aihōle record describes the march of the Cāḷukyas from Kōsala to Kaḷinga, Kaḷinga to Piṣṭapura, Piṣṭapure to Kaunāla and from Kaunāla into the Pallava territory. The Kopparam plates, issued in the 21st year of the reign of Pulakēśin, corresponding to 629-30 A.D., record his gift of village in Karmarāṣṭra, proclaimed by his yuvarāja and younger brother, Viṣṇuvardhana. This Viṣṇuvardhana is described as having secured a kingdom in the lineage of his son by that time. If his kingdom did not extend into Karmarāṣṭra how could he have announced a gift made in that region? He is known, from other sources, to have been ruling over the Visakhapaṭnam and East Godavary districts.[60] If the intervening districts of West Godavary and Krishna were not under his rule how could he have crossed them and entered the Guntur district to the farther south? The Chikkuḷḷa plates record the gift of a village on the bank of the river Krishna by Vikramēndravarman II, Viṣṇukuṇḍin. Is this compatible with the prevalence of Eastern Cāḷukyan rule in this region symulta-

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 112 and 208.
58. *Early Hist. Andhra*, p. 203.
59. *E.I.*, XVIII, pp. 257-260.
60. *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 317-319.

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neously? There is an inscription at Chēzerla in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district which mentions a Viṣamasiddhi and which has been assigned to the first Eastern Cāḷukyan king, Viṣṇuvardhana I.[61] Mādhavavarman II of Īpūr II plates is described as the Lord of Trikūṭa—Malaya and this Trikūṭa has been correctly identified with the Kōṭappakonda hill in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district. Inscriptions of Jayasiṁha I, the second Eastern Cāḷukyan king, are found at Vipparla, in the same taluk and district. How then can the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Eastern Cāḷukyas be contemporary rulers in the same region? A careful examination of the provenance of the inscriptions of the first two rulers of the Eastern Cāḷukyan family throws further light on this problem. The Chīpurupalli plates of Vīṣṇuvardhana I[62] record a gift made by him while in a camp in the *Plaki-viṣaya*, of a village in the *Dimili-viṣaya*. His Timmāpuram plates,[63] issued from Piṣṭapura, register a gift made in the *Plaki-viṣaya*. The Kopparam plates[64] register a gift made in the *Karmarāṣṭra* in the Guntur district. Of the records of Viṣṇuvardhana's son and immediate successor, Jayasiṁha I, the Pedamaddāli plates,[65] issued from Udayapura, identified by some with Udayagiri in the Nellore district, record the gift of a village in the *Gudrahāra-viṣaya* identified with the region round about Gudivada in the Vēṅgī areas. The Mōparṟu plates[66] record the gift of a village of that name in the Guḍivāḍa taluk of the Krishna district. The Niḍuparṟu grant[67] mentions a gift made in the *Gaṇḍēruvaṭi-viṣaya* near the Krishna. The Pedavēgi plates[68] record the gift of a village near Velaṅṭūru or modern Vellatur in the lower Krishna basin. The Polamūru grant[69] speaks of a gift made in the *Guddavādi-viṣaya* on the northern bank of the Godavary. The Vipparla inscription[70] registers the gift of the village of that name in the Narasaraopet

61. *SII*, VI No. 593.
62. *I.A.*, XX, pp. 15-18.
63. *E.I.*, IX. pp. 317-319.
64. *Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 257-260.
65. *I.A.*, XIII, pp. 107-138.
66. *C.P.*, No. 9 of *MER* 1919-20.
67. *E.I.*, XVIII, pp. 55-59.
68. *Ibid.*, XIX. pp. 256-261.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 254-258.
70. *MER*, 147 of 1899.

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taluk of the Guntur district. The provenance of the inscriptions mentioned above and the gifts conveyed through them show beyond doubt that both Viṣṇuvardhana I and his son, and immediate successor, Jayasiṁha I, ruled over that part of coastal Āndhradēśa corresponding to the districts of Visakhapatnam, Godavary, Krishna and Guntur. Of them, the former ruled between 624-642 A.D. and the latter between 642-675 A.D. The records of Viṣṇuvardhana II who, more or less, followed Jayasiṁha I, are found in the Krishna and Guntur districts. It is thus evident that Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule could not have prevailed in the Vēṅgī area after 624 A.D., the year in which Eastern Cāḷukyan rule was founded by Viṣṇuvardhana I. Thus the contemporaneity of the last two Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the first two Eastern Cāḷukyas, on which the chronologies mentioned above rest, becomes an impossibility.

There are several other objections to Dr. Sircar's view. Regarding Viṣṇukuṇḍin chronology—(i) He takes the 5th year of the Cāḷukyan king, Jayasiṁha I, and the year in which the Polamūru grant was issued, to be 637 A.D. on the presumption that Eastern Cāḷukyan rule started in 615 A.D. as proposed by Fleet.[71] Fleet's date is now known to be incorrect and the foundation of Eastern Cāḷukyan rule has to be ascribed to 624 A.D. Secondly, this writer states that Dēvavarman and Vikramēndravarman I predeceased their father, Mādhavavarman I but actually assigns the latter a reign of ten years.[72] Thirdly, Mādhavavarman II is not stated to have ruled but said to have been his grandfather's viceroy. Hence a reign of thirty years, assigned to him, becomes untenable. This makes a total difference of forty years. In the fourth place, even it be held, as Dr. Sircar does, that the 40th year of Mādhavavarman I corresponded to 587 A.D., his initial year would be 547 and not 535 A.D.[73] Further, there was no lunar eclipse on *Phālguṇa-pūrṇima* day in 587 A.D. the so called 40th year of Mādhavavarman II's reign.[74]

Now arises the question from whom did the Cāḷukyas take Vēṅgī. As shown above they could not have conquered it from

71. *Suc. Sat.*, pp. 107-112.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 392.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

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the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. None of the early Eastern Cāḷukyan records refers to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Eastern Cāḷukyan inscriptions of a later date state that the Cāḷukyas obtained Vēṅgī from the Durjayas.[75] A family of this description is known to have been ruling about the time from Piṣṭapura.[76]

Taking 624 A.D. as the year of the foundation of Eastern Cāḷukyan rule and allowing a short interval for the rule of the Durjayas over Vēṅgī, the end of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule may be reasonably assigned to about 615 A.D. Two other points have, however, to be taken into consideration in this connection. It is necessary that the *Phālguṇa-pūrṇima* day in the 48th year of Mādhavavarman I should be the day of a lunar eclipse. Similarly, the interval between this Mādhavavarman and the Eastern Cāḷukyan king, Jayasiṁha I, should not be too long. Taking all these considerations into account and holding that Dēvavarman, Vikramēndra I and Mādhavavarman II did not rule as sovereigns, I formulate the chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins as follows:

Vikramahēndravarman	—	475—500 A.D.
Gōvindavarman	—	500—525 „
Mādhavavarman I	—	525—575 „
Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman	—	575—602 „
Vikramēndravarman II	—	602—615 „

The reasonable nature of this chronology is borne out by two considerations—(1) There was a lunar eclipse on 11th February, 575 A.D. a *Phālguṇa-pūrṇima* day which falls within the reign of Mādhavavarman I and (2) If this be the last year of Mādhavavarman and if the Polamūru plates of Cāḷukya Jayasiṁha are dated in the fifth year of his reign, corresponding to 647 A.D. the interval between the two dates would be 72 years and accords with the synchronism postulated by the two Polamūru plates.

75. *Elliott's Collection* 15-6-26, pp. 185-191.
76. *E.I.*, XXIII, pp. 88-99.

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FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

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Mahendra's Bronze Tripod

BY

B. Ch. Chhabra

The subject of this short paper is a remarkable antique bronze tripod. This massive piece stands 12 cm. high and weighs 2 kilograms. Its exact findspot is not known, but it is believed to have come from a place within Mysore or from an adjacent region to the east thereof. Its present owner is Mr. C. Govindan, B.A., of Ootacamund. The rubbed off condition of the circular ring at the top shows that the tripod had long been in use, presumably in a temple, supporting a big jar or some other temple utensil. Similar stands are common to this day in South Indian temples. The present one is highly ornamental. As may be seen from the accompanying illustration (Fig. 1), every one of the three legs of the tripod has a conventional grotesque mask or *kīrtimukha* on the top. The pointed double beard, thick moustaches, stubby long nose and goggle eyes are its characteristic features. Its crown consists of four beaded bands, only partly visible on the illustration. In place of *karṇakuṇḍalas*, it has two monkeys or some other animals, in the crouching attitude, their lower parts merging into the conventional tusk on either side and thereby forming a loop. The lower part of the leg looks more or less like an elephant's foot. The beads in place of toes vary in number; eight in one, nine in the second and ten in the third. Could this variation be intentional? And has it got any significance? The middle part of the leg has floral designs, separated by beaded bands. The whole composition redounds to the credit of the craftsman concerned.

Few such pieces have come down to us where we can guess their age with some degree of precision. In the present case, however, we are fortunate in that it has an inscription engraved underneath, behind the mask over the leg with ten toe-beads. It consists of four syllables (Fig. 2), which may be read as *Śrī-Mahēdra*. It is obviously meant to be the name of the donor of the tripod. The lettering is cursive, but there is no doubt about its reading. It stands for Śrī-Mahēndra. The honorific *Śrī* in

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the beginning is indicative of the royal status of the donor. Whether he is to be identified with the Pallava monarch of that name cannot be stated definitely. The palaeography of the inscription, however, can be said to be in favour of such an identification. The letters *ma* and *dra* are our guides. They do point to a period between the seventh century and the ninth century A.D. The nail-head or triangle of *d* here is specially noteworthy. The other two syllables, *śrī* and *he* are too cursive to be of any help to us in dating the inscription as well as the inscribed object. The date of the present piece is approximately the eighth century A.D., as indicated above, and that makes it an object of considerable antiquity, of its class.

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India's Democratic Traditions

BY

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

It has been widely held that the only form of polity known to India has been Monarchy and that democracy has been unknown and foreign to her history. Nothing, however, is farther from truth. As a matter of fact, India has given to the world its earliest conception of democracy and has given expression to it in appropriate institutions called by the significant terms of *Sabhā* and *Samiti* occurring in her most ancient work, the *Ṛigveda*, which is also considered as the oldest work of mankind. The Ṛigveda is so committed to the ideal of democracy that it has made a Deity of Democracy to whom worship in appropriate prayers has been offered in the very last *Sūkta* or hymn of the Ṛigveda in its last or tenth *Maṇḍala*. The hymn is addressed by the worshipping Ṛishi to the Deity called by the singular abstract name of *Samajñāna* or *Samjñāna* signifying the collective and general political consciousness of the people, which is spread evenly (*Saṁjñāna* or *Samajñāna*) among all its classes, what may be taken as the national mind to which the individual mind is to offer its homage as the source of its intrinsic and inherent power and potency (*dhīyo yo naḥ prachodayāt*, as the *Gāyatrī Mantram* has it).

The hymn exhorts the people to gather together in their national assembly (*saṁgachchhadvam*), and speak there with one voice (*saṁvadadhvam*) in a union of minds (*saṁmanaḥ*), of hearts (*samachittam*), of policy (*samānamantraḥ*), and of hopes and aspirations (*ākūti*). Thus democracy depends upon the internal unity of its citizens, their emotional integration. The Ṛigveda thus ends on a definite democratic code.

Ṛigvedic society was democratic to its core. It was made up of democratic formations from its lowest stratum upwards. Social life was organised in a hierarchy of institutions known as (1) *Gṛha* or *Kula*, (2) *Grāma* or Village Community made up of the

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household (*gṛha*) as its unit (3) Union of Villages in *Vis'* or people, the canton or clan, and (4) *Jana* or nation called *Saṁsad* organised finally into the state called *Rāshtra*. Indeed, the democratic principle governed social formations and the different spheres of public life.

Culture was the custody of *Saṁghas* or Academies of learned men whose discussions evolved the refined language called Sanskrit out of the popular speech (*Vācham laukikīm*), like "getting groats through the sieves." Learning was promoted by association of scholars known as *Parishads* in the Upanishads which instance the *Parishad* of the Pāñchālas as the more famous is those days. It was attended even by the king of the country, the sage of a king, Pravahaṇa Jaivali. The Upanishads also tell of another cultural democratic institution in the shape of learned conferences meeting at the courts of kings. King Janaka of Videha convened a Congress of Philosophers of the Kuru-Pāñchāla country of the north to meet at his court in eastern India under the leadership of Ṛishi Yājñavalkya, while a woman philosopher, Gārgī, also won her spurs in argument with the men-philosophers at the Congress. These conferences thus spread Aryan culture from north to east and south.

Turning now directly to the form of Vedic Polity, it was no doubt normally a Monarchy but the Vedic Monarchy was not like an absolute autocracy but a limited constitutional monarchy subjected to the checks of defined democratic elements as parts of the Constitution. The autocracy of the Ṛigvedic king was checked by a powerful encourage of Ministers called *Rājakṛits* or kingmakers comprising such authorities as the Commander of the Army (*Senānī*), Finance Minister (*Saṁgrahitri*), and the like. Advantage was also taken of the necessary religious rituals of the ceremony of the king's coronation to impose upon him certain oaths of loyalty to Law and Constitution to emphasise the democratic character of kingship. Violation of these oaths by the king was punished by his expulsion from kingship which was conditioned by these oaths. This made Vedic kingship practically elective. There were also declarations made at the royal coronation to the effect that taxes were voted to the king in his capacity as the Protector of his people and not for purposes of his personal pomp and magnificence.

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Vedic Polity was, indeed, governed by the fundamental conception of sovereignty. The Vedic theory of sovereignty conceived of Law and Constitution or *Dharma* as the true sovereign of the State, and the king as the Chief Executive or *Daṇḍa* to uphold and enforce *Dharma*. The Sovereign was thus not the source of Law as implied in the Austiniam theory of sovereignty, but operated only as its sanction. This theory was later codified in Hindu Law books. According to Manu, for instance, the following were the sources of Law, viz., (1) *Śruti* (Veda), (2) *Smṛiti* (legal treatises), (3) *Śishṭāchāra* (approved customs) and (4) Judge-made Law derived from the decisions of the body of legal experts called *Parishad* on doubtful points of law.

Besides these democratic elements of Vedic polity as checks upon the king's autocracy, there were also regular constitutional checks exercised by such popular democratic bodies known in the *Ṛigveda* as *Sabhā* and *Samiti*, the two Houses of Legislature, the House of Elders and the House of People. They are described in the Atharva-Veda as the twin daughters of Prajāpati, the Creator, who sent them down to earth as His Agents to complete His work of creation on the basis of the democratic principles as the most powerful uplifting force. A member of the *Sabhā* prays that he speaks agreeably at its meeting (*saṁgateshu*) so that his other fellow-members speak with the same voice (*ye ke cha Sabhā sadaḥ te me santu savāchasaḥ*). Similarly, a member of the *Samiti* prays that he acquire (*ādade*) the collective power (*varcha*) and knowledge (*Vijñāna*) of the Assembly as a full partner of *Saṁsad*.

Vedic Polity also know of the Vote of the Majority for which the technical term used was *Narishṭā* which Sāyaṇa explains as "inviolable as the voice of the many" (*bahavaḥ sambhūya yadi ekaṁ vākyaṁ vadeyuḥ tad hi na paraiḥ ati langhyam;* where the many or majority meet and express the same opinion by a unanimous vote, that opinion cannot be violated by others).

By its very conception of sovereignty, the Indian polity stood for liberality of local autonomy, the self-government of the group, and discounted centralisation or over-government of the people. It gave scope to the natural associations and groupings of the people in autonomous corporations providing for exercises in

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self-government, which was necessary to revive their decadent social tissues. These social formations grew up in the following ascending order, viz.,

(1) *Kula,* clan or family,

(2) *Jāti,* caste,

(3) *Śreṇī,* Guild of members belonging to the same craft,

(4) *Pūga* made up of members of different castes and crafts in a larger body, the Village Community, and

(5) *Janapada,* the entire region or state.

Each of these self-governing groups had the liberty to legislate for itself within its own sphere and pass laws which the sovereign had to recognise and respect. These autonomous corporations together constituted and operated as a vast subterranean democracy limiting sovereignty at the top and functioning in different stages and spheres of self-government down to the village.

Later post-Vedic history is full of evidence as to India's continued democratic developments. Thus Pāṇini, the great grammarian who lived in about 500 B.C. (if not earlir) chose some of the republican terms of his times to illustrate his grammatical rules, terms like *Gaṇa* and *Saṁgha* for republics. *Gaṇa* was so called because its sovereignty vested in the many (*gaṇādhīnaḥ*), as contrasted with a Monarchy or government by one (*Eka-rājya=Ekādhīnah*). The term *Saṁgha* was also used for both individual republics and also their Unions. Pāṇini mentions as many as 80 such republics like Yaudheya-Gaṇe, Andhaka-Vṛishṇi *Saṁgha* or Mālava *Gaṇa*. The *Saṁgha* government was based upon the party system. The Party was called a *Varga* and named after its leader, e.g., Vāsudeva-*Varga,* Arjuna-*Varga* [IV. 3, 64]. Pāṇini knew of military clans called *Āyudhajīvī-Saṁghas* [IV. 2, 45].

The *Mahābhārata* also testifies to considerable republican development. It mentions the five principal republics or *Saṁghas* of its times, Andhaka, Vṛishṇi, Yādava, Kukura, and Bhoja. They formed themselves into a Federation headed by Kṛishṇa called *Saṁgha-Mukhya.*

Jain and Buddhist texts are full of references to republics and their unions. One such federation was that of Vajji made up of 9 Mallakis, 9 Lichchhavis, and 18 *Gaṇa-rājyas* of the region of

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Kāśī-Kośala. The leader of this confederation was the Lichchhavi chief Cheṭaka who was the uncle of the great Jain Mahāvīra.

Buddhist texts mention several live republics of the times such as the *Śākyas* of whom was born the Buddha who was an arch-democrat; Mallas; Jñātrikas; Koliyas; *Moriyas;* and *Videhas.*

Alexander's invasion of the Panjab (327-25 B.C.) was resisted by its heroic republican communities who fought to a man in defence of their independence. Its Greek chroniclers mention them as (1) Asparibi (=Aśvāyana of Pāṇini, IV. 1 110), (2) Assakenoi (=Aśvakāyana of Pāṇini), (3) Astakenoi (=Hastināyana), (4) the republicans of the fort of Aomos (=Varaṇā), (5) (Glaunai (=Sanskrit Glauchukāyanas), (6) Adraistoi (=Sanskrit Adhṛishṭas), (7) Kathari (=Indian Kaṭhas), (8) Malloi (=Mālavas), (9) Oxydrakoi (=Kshudrakas), (10) A Brahmin community who took up arms, leaving the pen for the sword and died in defence of their freedom, (11) Sibae (=Śivis), (12) Abastanes (=Ambashthas of Pāṇini, IV. 2, 53), (13) Kathri (=Kshatriyas), (14) Onadioi (=Vasāti) and (15) Sogdii (=Sūdras).

The texts also throw light on the procedure and practices of democracy. For instance, the *Saṁgha* or Assembly had its speaker called *Vinayadhara,* the whip called *Gaṇa pūraka,* Notice (*Jñapti*) of a Motion, Vote (*Chhauda*), and Decision by Majority (*Bhūyasikā Kriyā*). Voting was by tickets (*Salākā*) of slips of wood of different colours representing different opinions. The Polling Officer was called *Śalākā-Gāhāpaka.*

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Studies in the Majjhima Nikaya of the Suttapitaka

BY

Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Hon.) F.R.A.S.

Introduction

The *Majjhima Nikāya* is the second book of the *Sutta Piṭaka*.[1] It is known as the 'Middle collection' or the collection of discourses of medium length. It is divided into three books, each consisting of fifty *suttas*. But the text in the P.T.S. edition contains a total number of 152 *suttas*.

Different editions and translations

The Chinese *Madhyamāgama sūtra* is to be compared with the Pali Text of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (See Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, p. 1271). The P.T.S. edition of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I. by V. Trenckner contains 76 *suttas;* its second volume, Pt. I, contains 30 *suttas* and its third volume by R. Chalmers contains 46 *suttas*. They are re-printed in 1949 and 1951. Indices to the *Majjhima Nikāya* prepared by Mabel Bode and the Colombo edition of the *Majjhima Nikāya* published in 1895 may be mentioned. The first fifty discourses from the collection of the medium length discourses of Gotama the Buddha, freely rendered and abridged from Pali by the Bhikkhu Silacara, V. 1. *Breslau*: W. Markgraf, 1912, *Deutche Pali-Gesellschaft*: *Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos*: *aus dermittleren sammlung Majjhimanikāyo des Pali-Kanons Zum ersten Mal* uebersetzt Von Neumann Leipzig; W. Friedrich 1896-1902, *Discorsi di Gotamo Buddho del Majjhimo Nikāyo* deserve mention. *Per la prima volta tradotti dal testo palida* K. E. Neumann, de Lorenzo, 3 vols. may be consulted. For English

1. T. W. Rhys Davids' explanation of *sutta* is noteworthy. (*Buddhism, its history and literature, American Lectures*, pp. 52-54). Its literal meaning is thread. It is applied to a kind of book the contents of which are, as it were. a thread. *Piṭaka* is an oval shaped cane-basket with a pyramidal lid, the whole is covered with leather. It contains manuscripts (Law. *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 846).

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translations of the *suttas* vide *Further Dialogues of the Buddha* by R. Chalmers, Vols. I & II, and 1. B. Horner, *Middle length sayings*, Vol. I (1954), Vol. II (1957) & Vol. III (1959).

Subject-matter

The *Majjhima Nikāya* deals with almost all the important points of Buddhism. The *suttas* (discourses) of this *Nikaya* (collection) throw light not only on the life of the Buddhist monks but also on such topics as Brāhmaṇa sacrifices, various forms of asceticism, the relation of the Buddha to the Jainas, the wandering teachers in Buddha's time, and the social and political conditions prevailing at the time. The four noble truths of Buddhism, the doctrine of action or volition, refutation of soul theories, and different modes of meditation are discussed in this *nikāya*. Moreover this *nikaya* elicits some useful historical and geographical information. Buddhaghosa's commentary on this *nikāya* has been utilised in this article wherever necessary. The P.T.S. has already brought out this commentary entitled *Papañcasūdanī* in 5 vols.

Wanderers, heretical and Jain teachers and others

It is interesting to know the topics dealt with by the wanderers (*paribbājakas*). The wanderer Sakuladāyi sat in the midst of a great assembly of wanderers who were making a great noise with their voices raised and who indulged in such low talks as relating to princes, thieves, officers, army, war, food, drink, garments, beddings, garlands, country, town, city, women, warriors, streets, wells, departed spirits, diverse talks, stories of the creation of land or sea and talks about existence and non-existence (*Majjhima*, II, 1-22; cf—*Sandaka Sutta, Majjhima*, I, 513, Law, *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 13-14; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 245).

A wanderer named Pilotika met the brahmin named Janussoṇi and asked him about the Buddha's knowledge. His reply was that it was immeasurable (*Majjhima*, I, p. 175). A wanderer named Vacchagotta had a discussion with the Buddha who referred to the threefold lore possessed by him (*Majjhima*, I, p. 481). He met the Buddha and enquired about the possibility for a householder to attain immortality. He also enquired whether the world is eternal or not, limited or unlimited, the soul is different from the body and *vice versa*. The Buddha answered these questions in the negative. (*Majjhima*, I, pp. 483 ff). The wanderer named Dīghanakha met the Buddha and told him that he had

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held that he could bear everything. The Master held that it was his false belief. (*Majjhima,* I, pp. 497 ff). A wanderer named Māgandiya met the Buddha. He spoke ill of the Buddha because he saw a bed of straw spread for him by the side of a fire place of a brahmin sacrificer who belonged to Baradvājagotta. The wanderer was asked by the brahmin not to speak ill of the Buddha as he was much respected. The wanderer said that according to their *śāstra* the Buddha was a *Bhūnahu* (embryo-killer). The Buddha heard what Māgandiya said. The Buddha said to him thus "the eye takes delight in form but the eye of the Buddha is restrained. The Buddha instructs others to restrain the eye. Hence he is called the *Bhūnahu.*" The Buddha who was restrained in other five senses told Māgandiya that he had given up sensual pleasures after renouncing the household life. The Buddha was happy being free from desires. (*Majjhima,* I, pp. 501-13). A carpenter named Pañcakaṅga went out of Sāvatthī to see the Buddha. On his way he went to Uggahamāna, a wanderer, who said that he called him novice who was endowed with four qualities and who had good attainments. The carpenter left him and went to the Buddha and told him everything what the wanderer had said. The Buddha refuted the theory of the wanderer (*Majjhima,* II, pp. 22-25). A wanderer named Vekhanassa had a talk with the Buddha exactly similar to one held between the Master and the wanderer Sakuladāyi. Vekhanassa was delighted to hear from the Buddha that form, taste, sound, smell and touch are the objects of sensual pleasures. The Buddha then instructed him and pointed out his folly (*Majjhima,* II, pp. 40-44). A wanderer named Cūḷa-Sakuladāyi was met by the Buddha, who was requested to give him religious instruction. The wanderer said, "there is the visible path to the attainment of absolute joy". The Buddha said "the path referred to by the wanderer is nothing but the five stages of ecstasy." What the wanderer said was incorrect. Śakuladāyi was pleased with the Buddha (*Majjhima,* II, pp. 29-39). Mahāsakuladāyi, a famous wanderer, was living with other distinguished wanderers. The Buddha met Sakuladāyi who said that many teachers, e.g., Pūraṇakassappa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajitakesakambalī, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, Niganṭhanāthaputta and Samaṇa Gotama, had stayed at Rājagaha. Sakuladāyi further said that the Buddha was much more respected by his disciples than the other teachers. The

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Buddha asked, "why is he so saying?" Sakuladāyi replied "The Buddha is living on little food and he instructs others to eat little. He remains content with poor garments he gets. He is content with little alms, ordinary dwelling, and sleeping place. He lives alone and instructs others to live alone. This is the reason why the Blessed One is so much respected by his disciples." The Buddha admitted it to be true (*Majjhima,* II, pp. 1-22). A wanderer named Potaliputta met Samiddhi, a pupil of the Buddha, and said to him that he had heard from the Buddha that actions in body and speech are void. Only mental action is true and there is also an attainment (*samāpatti*) by acquiring which one does not feel anything. Samiddhi denied it totally. The wanderer said that a newly ordained monk was trying to conceal the fault of his teacher and what to say of the elder monks. The wanderer questioned him thus: what does the doer feel knowingly doing anything by body, speech, and mind? Then Samiddhi replied that he must suffer by doing this knowingly. The wanderer did not approve of what he had said and then left him (*Majjhima,* III, pp. 207 ff).

The six heretical teachers proved themselves to be the founders of schools and great leaders of thought. The first is described as the propounder of the doctrine of chance, the second as a fatalist, the third as an eternalist, the fourth as an atheist, the fifth as a sceptic and the sixth as an advocate of the fourfold restraint. According to Buddhaghosa Pūraṇa Kassapa was so named because with his birth the number of slaves in the family reached hundred. He fled from his master's house and on the way was robbed off his clothes by the thieves. He entered a village being naked where he was considered by the people as virtuous and offered food. He later gave up household life. (*Papañcasūdanī,* II, 233). Makkhali was his personal name and Gosāla was his epithet. Buddhaghosa takes Gosāla as his second name because he was born in a cowshed (*Papañcasūdanī,* II, p. 233). Ajita was his personal name. Kesakambali was the epithet as he used blanket made of human hair (*Ibid,* II, 233). Pakudha was his personal name and Kaccāyana was his family name. He used hot or tepid water. He considered it a sin to cross a river.. According to Buddhaghosa his teaching has been described as one which has lost its grandeur or splendour (*Papañcasūdanī,* II, 233-234).

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Mahāvīra predecessed Buddha by a few years. (*Majjhima*, II, 243). The Jainas proclaimed that their last *Tirthaṅkara* Mahāvira was an all knowing and all seeing master possessed of an infinite knowledge (*Majjhima*, I, 92 ff). Mahāvīra was aware of the dissension between Buddha and Devadatta (*Majjhima*, I, p. 392). He is said to have laid equal stress on *manokamma* and *Kāyakamma* on the ground of the interaction of body and mind (*Majjhima*, I, p. 238). Mahāvīra's view was this—speak not of *karma* but of *daṇḍa*. According to him there are three causes of sin with regard to body, speech and thought. Each is distinct from the other (*Majjhima*, I, p. 372).

The Niganṭhas were suffering lying on earth by the side of the Isigili just to annihilate the sinful acts done by them. The Buddha made them understand fully the exact position (*Majjhima*, I, pp. 92-93). The Jaina Saccaka with 500 Licchavis came to the Master and discussed with him the points relating to *saṅgha* and *gaṇa* some knotty points of Buddhist psychology and some difficult metaphysical topics. Saccaka was defeated in his argument and became devoted to the Buddha with the Licchavis (*Majjhima*, I, 225-226). The Buddha dispelled the doubt of Upāli by various reasonable arguments. Upāli then became a follower of the Buddha and accepted his doctrine (*Majjhima*, I, 371 ff).

Mahāvīra said to Abhaya thus, "You may be famous if you can defeat Gotama in argument." Abhaya met the Buddha and was pleased to have good instruction from the Buddha and he acquired faith in the *Buddha*, *Dhamma* and *Sangha*. The Buddha said to him thus, "whatever *Tathāgata* says is true, real and sweet. He does not say what is false, untrue and bitter. He uses in some places, for a moment, unhappy words though true and real." (*Majjhima*, I, 392 ff).

Historical and geographical information

The *Majjhima Nikāya* gives us some interesting historical and geographical data. The Yonas or Yavanas together with the Kambojas and the Gandhāras may be presumed to have settled down subsequently in the extreme north-west part of India, retaining their old manners and customs and maintaining their old religious beliefs. They tried to maintain their separate entity as a people in these two respects. The Yonas and Kambojas had the same kind of social organisations (*Majjhima*, II, p. 149). They

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were the two neighbouring peoples whose social system admitted distinction between two social grades of master and slave, there being no impassable barrier between the two classes (*Majjhima*, II, p. 149).

In Buddha's time the Kurus had very little political importance of their own. The Kuru country was ruled by a titular chieftain named Koravya (*Majjhima*, II, pp. 65 ff). At the time of the Buddha the ruler of the Sūrasenas was a prince born of a princess married by the king of Sūrasena from the royal house of Avanti (*Majjhima*, II, pp. 83 ff).

King Daṇḍaki of the kingdom of Daṇḍaka had Kumbhavatī as his capital (*Majjhima*, I, p. 378).

The Suppārakas were the citizens of Suppāra or Suppāraka (modern Sopara) which was the capital of Sunāparanta (*Majjhima*, III, p. 268). The people of Sunāparanta were fierce and violent (*Majjhima*, III, p. 268). The son and successor of Nimi was Kaḷārajanaka, so called because of his projecting teeth (*Majjhima*, II, p. 82). The last interview of Pasenadi the Kosalan King with the Buddha took place when both were in their eightieth year (*Majjhima*, II, pp. 118 ff). An educated brahmin youth turned out to be a fierce highway robber and became an object of great terror to the people of Kosala and even to King Pasenadi (*Majjhima*, II, 101 ff).

King Makhādeva or Maghādeva, the founder of the royal dynasty of Videha, was upset at the sight of a grey hair plucked from his head, and taking it to be the sign of death, he left the world forthwith leaving the throne to his son Nimi (*Majjhima*, II, 74 ff).

People from all parts of India came on a pilgrimage to Gayā to perform the holy ablution sincerely believing that by bathing in the Gayā river they could remove their sins. The Buddhist criticism of the belief and practice was not without its value (*Majjhima*, I, pp. 36 ff).

Āḷārakālāma and Uddakarāmaputta were the two great *yogis*, under whom Buddha learnt the practice of *yoga*, better *rājayoga*, on his way from *Rājagaha* to Uruvelā (*Majjhima*, I, pp. 160 ff).

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Kapilavastu[2] was so called because it was inhabited by the sage Kapila. This country was called Sakka because it was inhabited by the Śākya princes (*Majjhima*, I, 91; *Papañc*, II, 61). The distance of Rājagaha from Kapilavastu was 60 *yojanas* (*Majjhima*, I, p. 31; *Ibid.*, II, 152). *Kusīnārā*[3] (*Majjhima*, II, 238) was visited by the Buddha.

The city of *Sāvatthī*[4] was so called because it contained the abode of the sage Savattha. It was named *Sāvatthi* because everything was available there (*M.* III, 271). The *Kuru Kingdom* was the abode of the Kuru kings. (*M.* I, pp. 55, 501; II, 54, 71, 261).

Kammāssadhamma was the country of the Kurus (*M.* I, 55).

Kāsī was visited by the Buddha who gave his first discourse on the wheel of Law (*M.* I, 170 ff). King Kiki of *Vārāṇasī* came to see Kassapa at *Isipatana-migadāva* (*M.* II, 49). *Kāsī* was annexed to *Kosala* (*M.* II, p. 111, *piyā me Kāsī-Kosalā*).

Sāketa is said to have stood on a high road between *Sāvatthī* and *Kosambī* at a distance of seven relay-drives of royal chariots (*M.* I, p. 149).

Suṃsumāragiri was the name of a town in the Bharga country. A crocodile living in a lake near by made a noise on the day of its construction. Hence it was called *Suṃsumāragiri* (*M.* I, 332 ff; 11. 91-97). Some have identified it with the Chunar hill. This is doubtful.

2. The famous Rummindei Pillar marks the site of the ancient Lumbinī garden, the traditional scene of Śākyamuni's birth. Vincent Smith is inclined to identify Kapilavastu which lay not far from the Lumbini garden with Piprāwā in the north of the Basti district of the Nepal frontier. Rhys Davids takes Tilaura Kot to be the old Kapilavastu.

3. According to Cunningham Kusīnārā may be identified with the village of Kasia in the east of the Gorakhpur district. Different scholars hold different views. V. A. Smith prefers to place Kusīnārā in Nepal beyond the first range of hills (vide, Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient*, p. 103).

4. Sāheṭh-Māheth is the modern equivalent of the ancient site of Śrāvastī. The entire site lies on the borders of Gonda-Bahraich dists of Outh in U.P. and can be reached from Balarampur railway station. It can also be reached from Bahraich which is at a distance of 26 miles.

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The lord of *Magadha* was called Māgadha. Bimbisāra was the king, who was beautiful, full of faith, and prosperous (*Papañca*, II, 65). The commentator says that *Seṇiya* was the name of the lord of *Magadha*.

Rājagaha was the ancient capital of Magadha also known as *Giribbaja*, which was so called because it was surrounded by a mountain and because it stood like a cow-pen (*Papañc*, I, 151). It was a city at the time of the Buddha but it was empty in later times. The later capital of *Magadha* was *Pāṭaliputta* (Modern Paṭna) (*M.* I, 349). The Buddha stayed at *Tapodarāma* (*M.* III, 192).

Nālandā was a suburb of *Rājagriha* (*M.* I, 371).

The city of *Vesālī* (*M.* I, 349) was so called because it was extensive (*Papañc*, II, 19).

The *Aṅgas* (*M.* II, p. 2) were the princes of the territory of Aṅga. Assapura was a country of the Aṅgas (*Papañc*, II, 312). The capital of the Aṅgas was first called *Mālinī* which name was changed to *Campā* on the bank of the *Gaggarā* tank (*M.* I, 339). *Campāpurī* or *Campānagara* is described as a sacred place in the *Mahābh.* (Vanap, Ch. 85).

Uruvelā (*M.* I, 166) was a sandy bed. It had a big heap of sand. *Uru* is sand and *Velā* is the boundary or limit. It is modern Urel. *Senānigāma* on the bank of the river *Nerañjarā* was the principal locality at Uruvelā in Buddha's time. According to Buddhaghosa it served as a military cantonment. Senāni was the most prominent person in *Senānigāma*. He was the father of Sujātā who offered rice-gruel to the Buddha (*Papañc*, II, 233).

The city of *Ukkaṭṭhā* was so named because it was built by the light of the torches at night so that it could be completed within the auspicious time. (*M.* I, pp. 1,326; *Papañc*, I, p. 10).

The *Himalaya mountain* was the king of the mountains (*M.* III, 166, 177). According to the Commentary it was 3000 *yojanas* in extent (*Papañc*, II, p. 6).

The *Gijjhakuṭa* (*M.* I, p. 92) mountain had a peak like a vulture. The vultures lived in the peak. Hence it was so called.

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It stood by the side of the Isigili mountain. *Kālasīlā* was a black coloured stone on the top wherefrom a person could easily watch the action of some other persons. (*M.* I, p. 92; *Pap.*, II, 63).

The five hills surrounding *Rājagaha* are as follows: *Vebhāra, Pāṇḍava, Vepulla, Gijjhakuṭa* and *Isigili*. *Vebhāra* and *Isigili* are the same as *Vaihāra* and *Rishigiri*. *Pāṇḍava* and *Vepulla* are no other than *Pāṇḍara* and *Vipula*. (*M.* III, 68 ff).

Pilakkhaguhā existed near Ghositārāma and Kosambī. (*M.* I, 513 ff).

The *Bāhukā, Sundarikā, Sarassatī, Bāhumatī, Adhikakkā, Payāgā* and *Gāyā* were the seven sacred rivers (*M.* I, p. 39). *Gayā* and *Payāgā* were the *ghats* on the Ganges according to the commentator. The *Bāhukā* or the *Bāhudā* of the *Mahābhārata* may be identified with the river Dhavalā or Dhumela or Burha Rapti. The *Bāhumatī* may be identified with the Bāgmatī, a sacred river of the Buddhists in Nepal. (*M.* I, p. 39). The river *Sarasvatī* issued forth from the Himalayas. The *Nerañjarā* is the modern Phalgu river. Its two branches are the *Nīlājanā* and the *Mohanā* and their united stream is the Phalgu. The Ganges formed the boundary between Magadha, Aṅga and Kajaṅgala (*Majjhima*, I, *Vatthūpama Sutta*).

Veluvana and *Jetavana* were the groves planted (*ropitā*). The *Andhavana, Mahāvana,* and *Añjanavana* were self-grown groves (*M.* I, 42; *M.* II, 252). Kumāra-Kassapa lived at *Andhavana* (*M.* I, 142). The *Jetavana* was situated at a distance of one mile to the south of *Śrāvastī*. It was a gift to the Buddha by Anāthapiṇḍika the banker. *Veluvana* was once occupied by the Buddha (*M.* III, 128). *Bhesakaḷāvana* was a deer park of the Bhaggas (*M.* II, p. 91), Makhādeva's mango-grove was at *Mithilā* (*M.* II, 74). *Pāvārika* mango-grove was at *Nālandā*, where the Buddha dwelt (*M.* I, 371). Jīvaka's mango-grove was at *Rājagaha* (*Rājagriha*) which was visited by the Buddha (*M.* I, 368). *Gosiṅgasālavana* was a beautiful grove (*M.* I, 213).

The *Ghositārāma* was a monastery at Kosambī built by a banker named Ghosita (*M.* III, 152; *Papañcas*, II, 390). The *Nigrodhārāma* was a monastery at *Kapilavatthu* belonging to the Śākyas (*M.* I, 353). The Blessed one lived at the palace of Migāramātā at Pubbārāma in *Sāvatthī* (*M.* I, 251). The *Giñjakā-*

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vasatha was a brick-built house at Nādikā near Pāṭaliputta (*M.* I, 205). The *Paribbājakārāma* at Moranivāpa was visited by the Buddha (*M.* II, 1).

The following are some of the ancient villages mentioned in the *Majjhima Nikāya*: (1) *Nagaravinda,* a brahmin village of Kosala which was visited by the Buddha with a big assembly of monks (III, 290); (2) *Opasāda,* a brahmin village of the Kosalans (II, 164); (3) *Sāmagāma,* a village of the Śākyas (II, 243); (4) a brahmin village at *Mukheluvana* at *Kajaṅgala* (III, 298); and (5) *Tudigāma,* although a village, was a seat of learning under the leadership of Todeyya (II, 196).

In the following pages I have given a detailed and critical study of the *suttas* of the *Majjhima Nikāya.*

The *Majjhima Nikāya* begins with the *Mūlapariyāya sutta*[5] (*Majjhima,* I, pp. 1-6) which lays the scene of the discourse at the Subhaga grove of *Ukaṭṭhā.* The teaching is proclaimed to be one that strikes the keynote of the entire doctrine of Buddhism (*sabbadhammamūlapariyāya*). The popular aspect of this most important discourse is to be found in the narrative of the *Mūlapariyāya Jātaka.*[6] In this particular discourse the Buddha[7]

5. This sutta which is a discourse on the original cause of all phenomena has been translated into English from Pali by Suriyagoḍa Sumaṅgala Thera and published in a book form by the Mahabodhi Society. Colombo, 1908. Dr. Neumann has translated this sutta into German. Miss Horner translates the title of this sutta as the discourse on the synopsis of fundamentals. (*The collection of the middle length sayings,* Vol. I, PTS Tr. series, No. 29, 1954).

6. Fausboll, *Jātaka,* II, pp. 259 ff.

7. The Buddha is styled as *Bhagavā* which is equal to *bhagayatta,* one endowed with *bhaga* which generally means the sixfold supreme possession of *issariya, dhamma, yasa, sīri, kāma* and *payatana. Issariya* conveys the idea of supremacy, *dhamma* means transcendental virtues, *yasa* implies a pure fame of universal recognition, *sīri* connotes an all round accomplishment. *kāma* signifies all objects of desire, *payatana* means the supreme effort to gain sovereignty over all. *Bhagava* is *garu,* the master who is superior to all. On his attainment of the best of all good qualities he is the preceptor of all beings. Hence he should be styled as *Bhagavā.* The word *Bhagavā* is the best of all words, it is the chiefest of all. He is known as the Blessed One who is lucky, fortunate, and prosperous. His birth in this world, has come to an end and he is not to return to this

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has critically surveyed the real position of the contemporary systems of philosophy, pointing out the difference existing between the standpoint of these systems of philosophy and his own. It is apparent from this *sutta* that there were then current in India good many philosophical and theological beliefs, the most of which can be found in the philosophical and metaphysical works of the Hindus and in the books of the Jains. This *sutta* touches on the soul theory.[8] A fair idea of *nirvāṇa*,[9] can be gathered from it.

world any more (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, 34; *Papañcasūdanī*. I, p. 10; *Visuddhimagga* (PTS), p. 209). He is the destroyer of all evils. Hence he is called *Bhaggakārī*. He is one who explains things by apportionment or method of analytical distinction. He is one who, has gone beyond individual existence (*bhavaṅtaga*). He is one who has fully developed himself (*subhāvitatta*).

8. Soul is never born in the sense of becoming. A bad soul is bound to embody itself owing to the inflexible law of action (*karma*), which draws the soul back into a new corporeality. Matter supplies the soul with nutrition (*Brihad Araṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 3. 37). Life or embodied soul is compared to a horse attached to a cart (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, viii. 12. 3). Life is joined to the body as a horse is yoked to a cart. Life is in its nature something different and separate from the body. Life is the essential form of the soul. That is to say that the soul is just this principle of life apart from the conscious activities. The soul is the seer, the speaker, the hearer, and the thinker. The soul is the life of life, the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear and the mind of the mind (*Brihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 4. 18). Vide Law, *Avicenna and his theory of soul* published in the *Avicenna Commemoration Volume*, pp. 185-86. The Buddhist view of soul is discussed in it. The idea of a soul existing in permanent isolation from the body does not seem to be appropriate. The Jains do not deny the existence of the soul but the unalterable character of the soul (Cf *Sūtrakritāṅga* I. 12. 21; *Majjhima*, I, 483; *Śūtrakritāṅga*, I. 6. 27; 1. 10. 17).

9. Mrs. Rhys Davids is perfectly right when she gives an idea of *nirvāṇa* by saying that it is merely the ending of the bad (*Gotama the man*, p. 46), and we should add, beginning of the good. Vide also my *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. XI. Aśvaghoṣa's description of *nirvaṇa* of which essence is tranquillity (*śānti*) is based on the *sūtra* texts. The wiles and guiles by which women entice men, captivate their hearts and keep them enchained in the prison of lust, are precisely those described in the *Jātakas* and other *sūtra* texts. *Nirvāṇa* is the ultimate refuge of all beings according to Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist Commentator, who flourished, in the 5th century A.D. (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, p. 231; vide also my *Aśvaghoṣa*, p. 84).

Historically the only best way of understarding and realising *nirvāṇa* is to consider how the Buddhist conception agrees with and differs from the geneal vedantic idea of *Brahma-nirvāṇa* as approached from such view points as Yogic, psycho-ethical. ontological, eschatological and paradisaical.

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The Buddha sought to show by the dialectical process of reasoning employed in this *sutta* that *nirvāṇa* cannot but be the final term or last category of thought. If the first sources of knowledge be perception or intuition (*diṭṭha*), tradition (*suta*) and inference (*muta*), all that is derived from these three sources may be comprehended and made significant by the term *viññāta* (the known, i.e., the knowledge). The first three terms cannot exhaust the meaning of *viññāta,* which is something more than what is comprehended by them jointly or severally. If *ekatta* (unity) be the next category to express the essential character of knowledge (*viññāta,* the known), yet another category *nānatta* (plurality) is needed to convey the residual of meaning not covered by *ekatta*. To understand the meanings of *ekatta* and *nānatta* another category is needed, namely, *sabba,* (the all, universality), which is something more in meaning than what is comprehended

Buddha set forth the dialectic movement of thought leading ultimately to the category of *nirvāṇa* which the Upaniṣad philosophy came to treat as a thing in itself (*nibbanaṃ nibbānato sañjañāti*). Dr. Barua is right in holding this view mainly relying on the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, pp. 3 ff) ir his *Role of Buddhism in Indian life and thought* (p. 13). Vie also Law, *Nirvāṇa* published in the *Cultural heritage of India* by the Ramkrishna Institute of Culture, pp. 547-58.

Nirvāṇa is the blissful and peaceful element. It is the refuge, which is free from the passion of craving. It is the salvation which is eternal, unassailable and noble. It means the cessation of suffering. It is that supreme state in which there is neither birth nor decay nor disease nor death, nor contact with what is disagreeable, neither disappointmert nor separation from what is agreeable. It is that state which is tranquil, final and imperishable (*Saundarananda-kāvya,* XVI. 27). The sure way to *nirvāṇa* lies in the noble eightfold path propounded by the Buddha.

With the Brahmanist and Jain thinkers the problem of *nirvāṇa* is approached from the point of view of *ātman* but with the Buddha and the Buddhists the approach is from the viewpoint of *anātman* (vide *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*). The term *ātman* which is called an ego by some is said to mean supreme authority and is identical with freedom, eternality and absolute unity. This view seems to be incorrect. The term really means self, body, person, life. mind, and soul.

Not the slightest distinction exists between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* although their spheres are the same. *Nirvāṇa,* which is no doubt one of the cornerstones upon which rests the entire fabric of Buddhism, means calm according to some (*nirvāṇam śāntaṃ*). It means "leaving off permanently all the paths of transmigration."

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by *ekatta* (unity) and *nānatta* (plurality). Even *subba* (the intellectual universality) is in itself not enough to understand the whole of reality which is constituted not only of cognition but also of volition and feeling; to comprehend all another category is required and it is *nirvāṇa*[10] (the ideal, ideality). It is not an experience that one may identify oneself with it or think that either one is *nirvāṇa* or one is in *nirvāṇa* or one is from *nirvāṇa* or *nirvāṇa* is one's own. This *sutta* further informs us that the disciples of the Buddha, who are greatly learned, and *ariyasāvakas* (noble disciples), known *Pajāpati, Brahmā, Ābhassara* gods, *Subhakiṇṇa* gods, *Vehapphala Abhibhū, Ākāsānañcāyatana, Viññānañcāyatana, Ākincaññāyatana, Nevasaññānasaññāyatana* gods.[11]

10. Nagarjuna says that *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra* are the two relative ideas and as such there can be difference but no absolute distinction between the two (*samsārasya ca nirvāṇasya nāsti kiñcit viśesatā*). If the significance of one term is dependent on the significance of the other, both stand on the same footing in respect of each other. There cannot be any conception of the relation between the two even in apposition, if there be no common point of reference which is without differentiation or characterisation and from which ultimately each derives its significance. By implication this common point of reference is no other than *pratītyasamutpāda, dharmatā, tathatā* or *śūnyatā* which is introduced in the opening verse of Nagarjuna's *kārikā*. Kumarajīva holds that it is on account of *śūṇyatā* that everything becomes possible. It may be said that on the truth of the impermanence of the nature of all things the possibility of all things depends as Yamakami thinks (*Systems of Buddhist thought*, Introduction). *Śūnyatā* really means conditionality or transitoriness of all phenomenal existence. It is a synonym for *anitya* or *pratītya*.

11. Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 8 ff. The *Abhassara* or resplendant gods are the inhabitants of one of the Brahma heavens (*Brahmaloka*). The *Subhakiṇṇa gods* are the gods having bodies radiant with lustre. They are the inhabitants of the ninth *Rūpabrahmaloka*. The Vehapphala gods are the inhabitants of the tenth *Brahmaloka*. *Pajāpatī* (*Prajāpatī*) and *Brahmā* are the Vedic divinities. The gods of the realm of infinity of space, of the realm of consciousness, of the realm of nothingness, and of the realm of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness are called *Ākāsānañcāyatana, Viññānañcāyatana, Ākincaññāyatana*, and *Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana* gods.

The celebrated Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa who flourished in the 5th century A.D. says that the goal of the Brahmaṇas is the *Brahmaloka*. that of the Tāpasas is the *Ābhassaraloka*, that of the *paribbājakas* is the *Subhakiṇṇaloka* and that of the Ājīvikas is the *Anantamānasa* (*Papañcasūdanī*, PTS. II, p. 9).

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This *sutta* refers to four kinds of earth: the earth with signs; the earth with load; the earth with sense-object and the earth with general consent or solution or authorisation.[12]

The *Sabbāsava sutta* (*Majjhima,* I, pp. 6-12) shows how the corruptions (*āsavas*)[13] can be overcome. The Buddha says that relief from all corruptions comes to those who only can see and comprehend all things. They may be destroyed by a man who is wisely attentive and also by discernment, restraint, carefulness, endurance, suppression, and mental exercise. Those whose actions bring to sensual lust, craving for existence, and thought for the past existence, are blame-worthy. They fall victims to the following views: I have got a self. I have no self.[14] By self I apprehend self...eternity and identity of the self; and then fall into the net of diverse views. Those who pay attention to the worthy things get rid of these. If attention is paid only to the worthy things, then no corruption can come in. There is no offence if one is mindful in using after being unmindful in accepting the requisites.[15]

It may be noted here that the Buddha or the *Tathāgata,* the truth-finder and the path finder spoke of things with much authority as he knew and saw them (*jānato* and *passato*).

Heirs of truth, solitude, and the middle path are the topics of discussion in the *Dhammadāyāda Sutta* (*Majjhima,* I, pp. 12-16).

12. Cf. *Papañcasūdanī,* PTS., I, p. 25.

13. Some translate *asava* as canker (Miss Horner, *Collection of the Middle Length Sayings.* Vol. I, PTS. Tr. Series, No. 29, p. 9). The commentator Buddhaghosa refers to four kinds of *āsavas* (sins and depravities). They are as follows: sensuality (*kāmāsavā*), lust for life (*bhavāsavā*), speculation (*diṭṭhāsavā*) and ignorance (*avijjāsavā*). These sins and depravities have been destroyed and given up by the elect (*arahats*) and there is no chance for them to grow again as they have been burnt by the fire of wisdom (*Papañcasūdanī,* PTS., I, p. 42). According to Mahāvīra *āsava* means influx of sin (*Ācārāṅga,* p. 18).

14. Mrs. Rhys Davids has ably dealt with the subject of *attā* in Buddhism. Vide Mr. Rhys Davids, *Sakya or Buddhist origins,* pp. 186 ff. The Buddha refers to epistemological axioms of early *Vedānta.* Vide also *Indian Culture,* Vol. II, pp. 823-24—*The Ātman in the Pali canon* by Louis De La Vallee Poussin.

15. *Majjhima,* I, p. 12.

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Here the Lord distinguishes between the two classes of monks, one that clings to the *dhamma* (norm) and the other that clings to the food to enable him to practise *dhamma*.[16] The Lord praises the former, the keeper of the real truth. For contentment and calmness of mind will help him to remove impurities.

Sāriputta is now introduced in the second part of the *sutta* and is delivering sermons on solitude. He says that there are three ways in which the disciples of the lonely master fail to lead a solitary life. He then explains the middle Path which leads to the destruction of avarice, hatred, delusion, etc., and consequently to the attainment of *nibbāna*. This middle path is nothing but the noble eightfold path of right view, right determination, right speech, right action, right living, right exertion, right recollection and right meditation.[17] Note that this *sutta*[18] falls into two parts.

16. Mrs. Rhys Davids has written a very interesting and illuminating chapter on *dharma* (*Dhamma*) in her book, *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, pp. 66-74. She in her *Gotama the man* says that it is better not to translate it. *Dhamma*, a thing as it may be, means a possibility. Sylvain Levi's rendering of *Dhamma* by ideal is somewhat better but is only inadequate in that it words not the thing but only the idea of it (p. 56).

Dhamma is not mere law but something more than law. It is the principle of righteousness. The idea of *dhamma* is such that there should be the fulfilment of the whole duty of a man as man according to law, custom, sense of right, good and happiness but no feeling of tedium or dissatisfaction or vexation of spirit. *Dhamma* stands for law, principle of justice, sphere of conduct in conformity with established custom. the disregard of or departure from which is punishable by law. *Dhamma* means the efforting and fruition stages of the elect culminating in *nibbāna*. It is that which upholds (*dhāraṇato*) in the sense that those who have cultivated the path and realised *nibbāna* have no longer the fear of falling into the state of lore. It means nature, condition, quality, property, character, function, practice, duty, object, thing, idea, phenomenon, doctrine; norm; virtue; piety, justice, truth, religion, text, etc. (Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, X).

17. According to the Ancients right view has the characteristic of right knowledge or insight; right determination has the characteristic of right application of the mind; right speech has the characteristic of right possession; right action has the characteristic of right origination; right living has the characteristic of right purification; right exertion has the characteristic of right energy; right recollection has the characteristic of service or readiness and right meditation has the characteristic of the proper fixing of the mind (concentration). Right view may be explained as one who sees properly (*Papañcasūdanī*, I, p. 105).

18. Cf *Milindapañha*, p. 242; *Samantapāsādikā*, III, pp. 694-95.

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The first part is merely an introduction in which the Buddha relates the story of the two monks, Āmisadāyādā and Dhammadāyādā. The Buddha then departs and Sāriputta takes up the thread of the discourse and explains the doctrinal points involved in it. Sāriputta points out that anger, enmity, hypocrisy, malice, jealousy, niggardliness, deceit, treachery, insensibility, angry talk, pride, conceit, intoxication and indolence are all sinful or bad. For the removal of intoxication and indolence, there is the middle path.

The subject-matter of the *Bhayabherava Sutta* (M.N., I, pp. 16-24; Fear and Terror) is how terror may arise in mind. The Lord says to Jānussoṇi the brahmin that fear only comes to him who comes into the depth of forest with heart filled with longings and desires or restless or witless and drivelling. This *sutta* explains why terror arises to some and not to others. Its real value consists in its being reminiscent of the fearless endeavours of the Buddha previous to his enlightenment. This portion occurs in the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* many times. In this discourse the subject of *jhāna*[19] or 'raft musing' or rapt concentration or 'abstraction' has been dealt with in glowing language. Some have translated it as mental absorption which does not seem to be very happy.

The *Anaṅgaṇa Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 24-32; Freedom from depravity points out that a man undepraved cannot be free unless and until he himself sees that he is really far from depravation, that is, unless he knows the pitfalls he may fall into.

19. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, pp. 171 ff. *Jhāna* or ecstatic music was a long-standing practice similar to the *yoga* of the Hindus. It really means concentrative meditation. It is of an intensive attention, i.e., of concentration. establishing of consciousness exclusively and voluntarily on any single object. Buddhaghosa takes *samādhi* almost in the same sense as *jhāna*. *Samādhi* or *samāpatti* marks the close of a period in the continued process of *jhāna*. *Jhāna* is to be viewed as a passage of thought from object to object until a complete isolation from all objects, bodily or mental, is accomplished. The idea of isolation is expressed by such terms as *viveka* or *vivitta*. It is also a process of self-purification through a gradual elimination of all disturbing or distressing factors in consciousness (Vide Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. VI).

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Then Sāriputta says that there are some monks who seek position and who like pleasure. These monks are bad.

A reference to a naked ascetic (*ājīvika*)[20] Paṇḍuputta as cited by Mahāmoggallāna in the course of the discourse shows that the naked ascetics as a sect were in existence and they were not free from corruption.

This sutta does not claim to have come from the mouth of the Lord and is a mere discourse among the disciples while the Lord was still alive. Its inclusion in the *nikāya* shows first that the *suttas* were collected not only because they emanated from the Lord himself but also because of the seal of the approval attached to them by the Master.

A process of natural and spiritual evolution lies through ceaseless rounds of births and deaths (*saṃsārasuddhi*) as the doctrine is aptly summarised in this sutta (Cf. *Mahābodhi Jātaka,* Fausboll, *Jātaka,* V, p. 228).

The *Akankheyya Sutta* (*M.N.,* I, pp. 33-36) teaches us that the Lord advises his disciples to observe the strict rules of the *sīla* (precepts) and *pātimokkha* (*Pātimokkha samvarasaṃvuta*).[21] Longing for fame and reputation and power to know others' minds may be in their hearts. But this should not be. The monks will only observe the rule, be subdued and restrained, and practise the precepts of conduct faithfully.

In the *Vatthūpama Sutta* (*M.N.,* I, pp. 36-40; parable of the cloth) the Lord instructs the monks to be pure in mind and to remove all impurities. Let not impurities of mind remain. Let the monks know what impurities are and fully knowing they will

20. Gosāla was the leader of the Ājīvika sect and the powerful exponent of the Ājīvika system. As for the rules of the Ājīvikas see *Aupapātika sūtra* (Leumann Ed.), p. 80. Vide also *IA.,* XLI, 1912, p. 289; Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*—Hoernle's *Ājīvikas;* B. M. Barua. The *Ājīvikas* Pt. I; A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas.*

21. *Pātimokkha* may be treated as the criminal code of the monks and nuns. It is the name of a collection of various precepts contained in the *Vinaya* beginning with the four *pārājikās* and ending with 75 *Sekhiya-dhammas. Pātimokkhasaṃvara* means restraint according to the precepts.

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abandon them. When they have abandoned them, they will have generated faith in the Buddha and in the rules that will guide him and the *Samgha* (church).

The golden mean served as the guiding principle to the whole of the Vinaya discipline according to which the life of the Buddhist Holy Order was to be moulded. The desired effect sought to be produced was to shift the emphasis from things external to the purity internal. The noble eightfold path[22] was propounded as the best method of attaining internal purity of the self. (*sināto antarena sināneva*). The Buddha wanted men to be baptised with an internal bathing.

The Brāhmin Bhāradvāja of Sundarikā asks the Lord if he goes to the Bāhukā river. The Lord questions him the reason and when Bhāradvāja says that the river possesses the power of purifying, the Lord explains that to purify the mind one need not go there. Bhāradvāja is afterwards ordained.

Of the two parts of this *sutta* the second is relevant only if we take the faint connection of the purifying power of the Bāhukā river with the purifying power of mind. Otherwise the episode of Bhāradvāja is out of place. There are two points worthy of notice: (1) that the parable of cloth may be interpreted as an illustration of the popular Buddhist conception of mind in *tabula rasa* or clean sheet of cloth, contaminated by impurities which being foreign to its nature (*āgantukādosā*)[23] can be ultimately got rid of and (2) that it preserves a very ancient Pali couplet mentioning seven important rivers, e.g., the *Bāhukā, Adhikakkā, Gayā, Sundarikā, Sarassatī, Payāgā,* and *Bāhumatī* as holy waters in which the people bathed to wash away their sins and impurities, the *Gayā* being represented as the chief of all.

Here we have the Buddha's short note on colour as employed by Gosāla and Mahāvīra. Just as a piece of cloth absorbs the colours or impurities from different dyes, dark, blue, red, yellow, white and supremely white, so does the mind become tinged or

22. Dr. Keith truly represented it as a way to freedom.
23. B. M. Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 399.

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tainted by its different tendencies or associations (Cf. *leśyā* in Jainism which is the term signifying colour — *Sūtrakritāṅga*, 1.6.13). The classification of living beings in terms of six colours may be traced in Pārśva's doctrine of *jīvanikāyas* (*Ācārāṅga*, II, 15.16). Makkhali Gosala's division of souls into six colour types exactly corresponded with Mahāvīra's division of the same into six colour affections (*lesiyas*). It agreed substantially with the Buddha's characterisation of mind by five colours (Cf. *Mahābhārata*, xii. 279. 33-68).

In the *Sallekha Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 40-46) the Blessed One in reply to Mahācunda's question says that in order to get rid of the various false views current about self and the universe, a monk should see with right comprehension that there is no 'mine', no 'this is I', no 'this is myself'. Each of the planes (the four ecstasies, infinity of space, of mind, of Naught — of neither perception nor imperception, etc.) is called by the Buddha as an excellent state. According to the Buddha this is the way to expunge though others may be harmful; a monk should be harmless; others may kill and lie, but a monk should not do so.

In the *Sammādiṭṭhi Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 46-55—Right Belief) we find that Sāriputta wants to know what right belief means. The monks themselves become anxious to know from him its meaning.

Then Sāriputta says that right belief means the disciples' knowledge of good and evil with all their roots.

In the fold of evil are included:[24]

(1) to kill, (2) to steal, (3) to be guilty of sex indulgences, (4) to speak falsely, (5) to spread scandal, (6) to speak harshly, (7) to speak roughly, (8) to speak frivolously, (9) to covet, (10) to cherish ill-will, (11) to entertain erroneous views. Within the fold of rest of evil are included:—

(1) Desire, (2) Hatred, (3) Delusion;[25]

24. *Brihad Araṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV. 4. 5.

25. *Moha* is meant by some as dullness (Yamakami. *Systems of Buddhistic thought*, p. 88). This meaing is erroneous.

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Within the fold of good are included:—

(1) to abstain from (as above in evil); within the root of good are included:—

(1) absence of attachment to passion, (2) love, and (3) wisdom.

At the suggestion of the fellow monks, Sāriputta acknowledges the various ways leading to right belief, namely:—

1. by knowing āhāro[26] (nutriment), its origin, its cessation and the cause leading to its cessation.		
2. „ suffering	(*dukkha*)	Do.
3. „ decay and death	(*jarāmaraṇa*)	Do.
4. „ birth	(*jāti*)	Do.
5. „ existence	(*bhava*)	Do.
6. „ attachment	(*upādāna*)	Do.
7. „ sensation	(*vedanā*)	Do.
8. „ contact	(*phassa*)	Do.
9. „ aggregation	(*saṅkhāra*)	Do.
10. „ ignorance	(*avijjā*)	Do.
11. „ depravity	(*āsava*)	Do.

Buddhaghosa divides the right view into *lokiya* (worldly) and *lokuttara* (supernatural). The knowledge of a work done and the knowledge of a matter leading to truth come under the first category; while wisdom which comes under the noble eightfold path, falls under the second category.[27]

The commentator says that slaughtering or killing of beings should be avoided. Pāṇātipātā is applied to the bodily and vocal doors of one who is conscious that the being is alive and who produces an effort to cut off the living force in that being.[28] As

26. There are four nutriments: material food, contact, thought, and consciousness. According to Gogerly *āhāro* is the food of action or bases. They are matter, contact, thought and consciousness (Childers. *Pali Dictionary*, p. 20).

27. *Papañcasūdanī*, I, p. 198.

28. *Ibid.*, I. p. 198.

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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल काँगड़ी

regards theft the intention of stealing and producing the effort to take something with the consciousness that it belongs to others, comes within the definition of theft. The five constituent factors in theft are the following: (1) taking of other's property, (2) consciousness of doing so, (3) intention to steal, (4) effort to steal and (5) the actual theft.[29] The commentator further says that men have got no right to approach ten classes each of unmarried and married women. The ten kinds of unmarried women are: a woman under the guardianship of her mother, father, parents, brother, sister, relative, clan, religious belief, a woman under engagement, and a woman undergoing punishment. The ten kinds of married women are as follows: one bought by wealth, one becoming a wife of her own sweet will, through love of property and dress, one fully wedded by her parents, one who is taken from the poor classes, a slave-wife, a servant wife, a woman captured in war and a mistress kept for the time being.[30]

In the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 55-63) the Lord says to the monks that there is but one way that leads to the purification of mortals and that is the four *satipaṭṭhānas*,[31] e.g., to keep watch over (1) body (*kāya*), (2) sensation (*vedanā*), (3) mind (*citta*), and (4) phenomenon (*dhamma*). It is interesting to note that *kāya* represents physical structure and activities; *vedanā* represents the emotional nature; *citta*, conscious life, consciousness or intelligence and *dhamma* has five subdivisions.[32] The tone of this long *sutta* is always harmonious. The Buddha advises the monks to practise mindfulness. It is by the fourfold mastering of mindfulness that one can pass beyond sorrow and lamentation and bodily and mental ills and obtain the right path and realise *nirvāṇa*. A monk beholds the norm in all conditions and in five

29. *Papañcasūdanī*, I, 198-99.
30. *Ibid.*, I, p. 199.
31. It is interesting to note here the valuable remarks of Mrs. Rhys Davids in her *Gotama the man* (p. 222) "the same way of values in the other formula of ordered thinking called the four *satipaṭṭhānas* has, as two of its stages 'ideas' and 'mind' brought in the same two ideas here. where the training has a somewhat, but not wholly, different emphasis. And it will not be a true picture of my teaching, if the training in *iddhi* is passed over."
32. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. II, p. 325.

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constituent elements of attachment.[33] The teachings in this *sutta* may be judged as the corner-stone of the whole of the Buddhist system of self-culture.

The *Cūḷasīhanāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 63-68) informs us that the Blessed One asks his disciples to tell the votaries of other paths that they excel them in the following:—

1. *Sattharipasāda* (faith in the teacher);
2. *Dhammapasāda* (faith in the norm);
3. *Śilesu paripurakāritā* (strict observance of morality);
4. Sahadhammikā piyāmanāpāgahaṭṭhā c'eva pabbajitā ca—agreeableness in the company of the dear fellow believers whether they are house-holders or monks.

The Master explains to them that all ideas about self, eternity, non-eternity arise from the clinging to the self, i.e., non-comprehension of the norm.

We find here that there are some philosophers who hold the existence of things to be eternal, while others believe in the non-existence of things.

In the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 68-83; great lion's roar) we read that Sāriputta informed the Blessed One that Sunakkhatta, a Licchavi prince, who had left the Order, spoke ill of him. At this the lion-like Lord began to roar that his teachings were such that if one pondered over them, one would surely leave the world. Sāriputta further informed the Buddha that he was so powerful because he possessed the ten powers which included his capacity for knowing facts. He further declared that he possessed the four *Vesārajjas*[34] (four kinds of confidence). He also knew the various classifications of beings, the

33. *Indian Culture*, Vol. III—Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Towards history of Skandha doctrine* (pp. 405-11; 653 ff.).

34. A Buddha has four subjects of confidence or fearlessness. They are the consciousness that he has attained omniscience, that he has freed himself from passion, that he has rightly described the hindrances to a religious life and that he has rightly taught the way leading to salvation (Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 291).

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birth of beings, *Nibbāna*[35] the mind of men, and the five different destinies of men. This long *sutta* only glorifies the Buddha.

In this connection it is interesting to note what the Buddha spoke to Sāriputta. The Master said to him thus, "A truth-finder knows precisely what is and what is not a specific cause; he knows the precise nature of the consequences that must result from everything done in the past, present and future; he knows the precise nature of the future to which every course leads; he knows the precise nature of manifold physical factors which make up the world; he knows the precise nature of each creature's particular bent; he knows the precise nature of all that is going on in the hearts of others; he knows the precise nature of imperfections, the specific stage or the uprising of many achievements of ecstasy, deliverance, and raft musing. The Buddha further said to Sāriputta that he had lived the fourfold higher life, that he had been an ascetic of ascetics, that lothly he had been, foremost in lothliness, that he had been scrupulous, foremost in scrupulosity, that he had been solitary, foremost in solitude.

Reference is also made to the existence of certain kinds of religious men (1) who believe in purification by food (*āhārena suddhi*), (2) who believe in purification by offering,[36] and (3) who believe in purification by the fire rituals (*aggiparicariyāya suddhi*). The *Lomadhaṃsapariyāya* is an alternative title suggested in this discourse. A popular version of this discourse is to be found in the *Lomahamsa Jātaka*.[37]

The *Mahādukkhakkhandha Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 83-90) tells us that the monks were thinking as to the distinction between their school of thought and those of the other sects, particularly when both taught subjects of desire. They approached the Lord and the Lord asked them if they could put the question before the ascetic of the other sects as to the pleasures of senses, and escape from sensual pleasures, etc. Surely the ascetics of the other sects

35. Even the Buddha or Tathāgata cannot escape it inspite of his greatness and perfection (Cf. *Dīgha*, II, p. 157).

36. By successive transmigration (*samsārena suddhi*) is the alternative suggested by some.

37. Fausboll, *Jātaka*, Vol. I. pp. 389 ff.

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would be puzzled. This *sutta* informs us that it is the sensual pleasure that brings lots of troubles when kings fight, private persons engage in feuds, etc. So the end of sensual pleasure is happiness.

In this *sutta* we find a long enumeration of the offences that were punishable by the penal laws of ancient India, e.g., burglary, robbery, adultery, etc. The kind of punishment for each offence is mentioned as follows: by flogging, by beating with canes (*vettehi tāḍenti*), by beating with short sticks having heavy striking ends (beating with half sticks—*addhadaṇḍakehi tāḍenti*), by cutting off hands or feet, hands and feet, ears or nose, ears and nose, or they are subjected to the tortures of the saucepan,[38] the conch-shave, the face of a demon,[39] the garland of lustre,[40] the burning hand, the hay-band,[41] the bark-robe, the antelope,[42] the meat-hooks,[43] a certain coin,[44] alkaline matter,[45] bolting the door,[46] straw-chair[47] or they are besprinkled with boiling oil, or are given to dogs to devour, or are impaled alive, or have their heads chopped off.

38. The skull was first trepanned and then a red-hot ball of iron was dropped in so that the brains boiled over like porridge.

39. The mouth was fixed open with a skewer and a lighted lamp put inside. This torture was called the mouth of *Rāhu* because *Rāhu*, the *asura* (demon) was supposed at an eclipse to swallow the sun.

40. The whole body was oiled before ignition but *mālī* suggests a coronal of flames just as the next torture is localized to the hands.

41. From the neck downwards the skin was flayed into strips, not served at the ankles but there plaited like a hay-band to suspend him till he fell by his own weight. In the next torture the strips formed a kilt.

42. The victim was skewered to the ground through elbows and knees with a fire lighted all round him so as to char his flesh.

43. The victims were slung up by double hooks through flesh and tendons.

44. With a razor little discs of flesh were shaved off all over the body.

45. Into gashes salt or alkali was rubbed with combs.

46. The head was nailed to the ground by a skewer through both ear-holes.

47. The skin being left intact, the bones and inwards were pounded till the whole frame was as soft as a straw mattress (Lord Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*. Pt. I, pp. 61-62 f.n.).

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The vigorous religious propaganda carried on in the 6th century B.C. went to mitigate and humanise the most rigorous and barbarous laws.

There is a reference here to sects other than the order of Buddhist monks, for whom, too, sensual pleasure was the main point of attack and their identification will be of great interest.

There is also a mention of the kinds of profession that suited the householder, e.g. —

1. *Muddā* .. conveyancing[48]
2. *Gaṇaṇā* .. accountancy[49]
3. *Saṅkhā* .. appraising (calculating)
4. *Kasī* .. agriculture
5. *Vaṇijjā* .. trade and commerce
6. *Gorakkhā* .. cattle breeding
7. *Issattha* .. archery
8. *Rājaporisa* .. king's service (government service)

and some other callings.

The *Cūḷadukkhakkhandha Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 91-95) informs us that Mahānāma the Sakya approached the Lord and asked him, "How is it that thoughts for craving, hatred, and delusion are the defilements of mind?" The Lord explained to him thus, "something has not been cast out and for this such trouble comes to him again." In this *sutta* is found a description of the naked ascetics whom the Buddha is said to have met. Some of the naked ascetics lived in large numbers at the Black rock (*Kālasilā*) in Rajagaha. Their teacher was Nāthaputta who believed in bad works done by them in their past life for which they were to suffer. They believed that by suffering happiness may be attained.

The object of *Anumāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 95-100) is to warn the monks in concrete cases to be careful.

48. This is Gogerly's rendering (*hatthamuddāgaṇanā*). It means stamp or impression or sign, signet, seal-ring.

49. Calculation, teaching mathematics.

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Mahāmoggallāna advises the monks that if any of them goes astray and does not listen to the warnings of the fellow monks, then the best way lies with them is to punish him by not mixing with him and not speaking to him.

Like the *Mahāvagga* and *Pātimokkha* this *sutta* enumerates offences and their punishments. Nowhere there is any mention of a citation of a standard book on these rules. And the principal figure here is not the Lord but Mahāmoggallana. Buddhaghosa informs us that this discourse was known to the ancients as *Bhikkhuvinaya* or treatise on discipline.

The *Cetokhila Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 101-104) lays down that there are five bolts of the heart, e.g., the doubt about the teacher, the doubt about the doctrine or confraternity or the course of training with the lack of bent towards ardour, zeal, perseverance and exertion, and anger and displeasure towards fellows in higher life. The Buddha says that there are five *cetaso vinibandhā* (five mental enslavements or five bondages of the mind)[50] from which every monk has to free himself in order to achieve the highest goal. A monk who was endowed with the fifteen factors of exertion was fit for the attainment of full enlightenment and excellent *nirvāṇa*.

This *sutta* also lays down some Vinaya rules and illustrates the cases. It may be pointed out that the religious aspect of hindrance is *Cetakhila* which is similar in meaning to Jaina *duhasejjā* (bed of suffering). Cetakhila touches in many essential points *assaddhā* or absence of faith or irreverance as defined in the *Vibhanga* (P.T.S., p. 371).

In the *Vanapatha Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 104-108) the Blessed One lays before his disciples a way of woodland solitude. The

50. Attachment to sensual pleasures, attachment to the body, attachment to the visible forms, if after eating as much as his belly will hold, a monk is fond of his chair or bed or slumber, then his heart's bent is not towards ardour, zeal, perseverance, and exertion. If a monk aspiring to belong to one of the deva communities practises morality saying unto himself that by practising this precept, vow, asceticism or austerity he would become a particular god, then his heart's bent is not towards ardour, etc. See B. M. Barua, *The role of Buddhism in Indian life and thought*, 1946, pp. 1, 7.

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Master quotes instances of monks living in forests with an unbalanced mind and an unsteady recollection. Such monks could not achieve anything noble because they were not accustomed to live without necessities. The Buddha said thus, "a monk dwelling in a forest finds that mindfulness which was not his before belongs to him now; that concentration of mind which was not his before is now his; that the sins not extinct before have now disappeared from him and that he is now getting the excellent *nibbāna* which he had not won before. But he finds it difficult to satisfy the needs of a monk in the matter of garments, food, bed, and medicines in the forest. He should consider that it was not for the latter things that he became a monk. Realising this he should not quit the forest."

This *sutta* also exemplifies the Vinaya rules, as for example, of a monk's needs in the matter of clothing, food, bed, and medicaments.

The *Madhupiṇḍika Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 108-14) points out that Daṇḍapāṇi, the Śākya, met the Blessed One and asked him what doctrine the latter held. The Blessed One explained to him that he held such a doctrine that both Brahmā and Māra[51] were unable to hold. At this Daṇḍapāṇi retired. The Buddha then narrated the events to the disciples who also wanted to know what doctrine the Blessed One held. He then retired after telling them his doctrine in a nut-shell that there is an end of all inclinations to passion, pride, doubts, ignorance, and speculative ideas for a man, if he does not adhere to molestation, whatever be the origin. Then Mahākaccāna was sought after by the monks to explain the meaning of what the Blessed One had spoken so briefly. Mahākaccāna

51. According to the *Papañcasūdanī* Māra should be called Pajāpatī as he lords over the assembly of Mara (I, pp. 33-34). Vide *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, I, 202; *Samyutta*, I, p. 124; windisch, *Māra und Buddha;* Beal, *Romantic legend of Sakya Buddha*, pp. 36, 199; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, 27, 31, 32, 39 and 119; Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* I, 143, 164, 175; II; 160; III, 59, 73, 350; *Niddesa* (PTS), 489; *Jātaka* (Fausboll), IV, p. 123; *Aṅguttara*, II, 17; *Nettipakaraṇa*, 8, 9, 40, 85, 39; *Visuddhimagga;* 73; 79; *Kathāvatthu*, II, pp. 457-58; *Aṅguttara*, I, p. 150; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakatha*, IV, 31-32; 140-41, etc. etc. It is interesting to read the Tibetan account of Māra's fight with the Buddha (Vide my *Buddhist Conception of Māra* published in the *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 268 ff.).

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explained to the fellow monks the psychological meaning of the sayings of the Buddha. Then the Lord also corroborated the same statement of Mahākaccāna.

The *Dvedhāvitakka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 114-18) is very important so far as the history of Pali literature is concerned. Mahākaccāna's exposition of what the Buddha had spoken in brief, furnishes us at least with important data as to the way in which the system of exposition began.

The system of *Abhidhamma* exposition based on philosophical thought and explanation of what the Buddha had spoken may be found here. Here we may find the genesis of *Abhidhamma* and the author was the same Mahākaccāna. Mahākaccāna's duty was ever the same. No text is referred to as there was no text and the succeeding numbers of texts are nothing but embodiments of all philosophical expositions and Buddha's short teachings which are sought to have passed through the mouth of Buddha's disciple, e.g., Mahākaccāna.

The Buddha explained to his disciples that he had failed to achieve the highest object so long as he practised the habit of dividing things, which gave rise in his heart to craving, considerations of ill-will and cruelty. But when he thought and pondered more on renunciation, the thoughts of craving passed away. He gave them a number of parables and finally asked them to devote themselves to meditation so that they might not have to repent later on. The Master addressed the monks thus "the thought of sensual pleasures, hatred and injury should be put into one category and the thought of renunciation, non-hatred and non-hurting should be placed in another category. The thought of sensual pleasures is destructive of intuitive wisdom and not conducive to *nibbāna*. The thought of renunciation is for growth in intuitive wisdom; it is not associated with distress. The noble eightfold path is no doubt the path which is safe, secure and leading to delight as contrary to the wicked path.

In the *Vitakkasanthāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 118-22) there are discussions which bring about merit, demerit, suffering, etc. A monk should be called one who is well restrained in discussions, when he discusses with one who wants discussion, and refuses discussion with one who does not want it.

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The *Kakacūpama Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 122-29; parable of the saw) points out that the Blessed One spoke in very reproaching terms to Moliya-Phagguna and asked him to avoid the society of nuns and to do as the senior monks instructed him to do. He should drive away anger from his mind and should not give way to it, even if villainous bandits were to carve him limb from limb with a two-handled saw (*ubhatodaṇḍakena kakacena*).

In the *Alagaddūpama Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 130-42; parable of the snake) Ariṭṭha says that what the Buddha had laid down, so far as hindrance was concerned, was not yet sufficient. The monks tried to correct him and failing in this they approached the Buddha. The Buddha sent for Ariṭṭha, and when the latter came to him, he told him that the teachings were quite sufficient, but that Ariṭṭha had not well comprehended them and that he had been misguided.[52] There is a striking denial by the Buddha following on an exposition of the doctrine of non-self and a declaration of the nature of the enlightened one as beyond nature and inconceivable already in this life. The accusation is made that the Buddha holds the destruction of a real entity (*sato satassa*). This he denies absolutely as rightly pointed out by Dr. Keith.[53]

The *Vammīka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 142-45; the parable of the ant-hill) deserves only a passing notice.

In the *Rathavinīta Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 145-51) Puṇṇa Mantāniputta[54] dwells upon the various stages in the path of the attainment of *nibbāna*.[55] One cannot have *nibbāna* atonce. *Nibbāna* is the goal and to attain that one is to pass through various states of mind, one leading to the other. First, purity of life will take one as far as purity of heart and no further, and purity of heart takes one only up to purity of views. In the same

52. Cf. *Vinaya Texts*, II, S.B.E., p. 377; *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. II, *Cullavagga*, pp. 25 ff.

53. *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 64 ff.

54. Vide Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Gotama the man*, pp. 111-13.

55. For an interesting discussion on *nibbāna*, see '*Buddhistic Studies*' edited by B. C. Law, pp. 564 ff. It is true to say that *nibbāna* is not for many but for the very ripe few (*Gotama the man*, p. 174). *Nirvaṇa* is immortality. It is secured from the worldly contact and unsurpassed in its

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way one will have gradually the purity by dispelling doubts, the purity by the fullest insight into paths, right and wrong, the purity by insight into the way by which to walk, and the purity which insight gives.

This *sutta* gives a rough sketch of self-culture through purity. *Sīlavisuddhi* (purity of morals), *Cittavisuddhi* (purity of mind), and *Paññāvisuddhi* (purity of knowledge) are really the three main points for consideration. This *sutta* points out that if the Lord had laid down that purity of moral habit was utter *nibbāna* without attachment, he would have laid down that *utter nibbāna* without attachment was the same as that with attachment. Purity of moral habit is of purpose as far as purity of mind. Whatever is purity of mind, this is the goal, the peak, the culmination of the purity of moral habit (*Majjhima Commy.*, I, p. 157).

The question of Upatissa in this *sutta* is identified by Dr. Neumann with the passage, entitled *Upatissapasine* in Asoka's Bhābru Edict.[56] We agree with Dr. B. M. Barua in thinking that Buddhaghosa's encyclopædic *Visuddhimagga* or even Buddhadatta's earlier Abhidhamma manual, *Abhidhammāvatāra*, is nothing but an elaborate treatment of the topics suggested in the questions of Upatissa.

In the *Nivāpa Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 151-60) the Buddha instructs the monks how to avoid the five pleasures of senses to be free from the clutches of Māra and his train. According to the Master such a monk is said to have passed the range of vision of the Evil One, who divested of pleasures and wrong states of mind, abides in the First Ecstasy, the Second Ecstasy, the Third Ecstasy, the

reach. It is the greatest happiness. With the vision of *nibbāna* the sinful nature vanishes for ever. He who has knowledge and meditation is near unto *nibbāna* which can be attained by destroying desire. It is the extinction of five *khandhas* or constituent elements (*Visuddhimagga*, II, p. 611). The attributes of *nirvaṇa* consist of absence of passion, destruction of pride, getting rid of thirst, freedom from attachment, and destruction of all sensual pleasures. *Nibbāna* can be attained through meditation, wisdom, precept, steadfastness, etc. It is really freedom from all sins and final release from lower nature (*Atthasālinī*, p. 409). For further details vide Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. XI.

56. *Upatisapasine* (*Upatissapañho*). Vide Law, *Importance of the Bhabru Edict*, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 130 ff.

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Fourth Ecstasy, the plane of infinity of space, the plane of infinity of consciousness, the plane of naught, the plane of neither perception nor non-perception and the plane where feeling and perception cease.

The *Ariyapariyesana Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 160-75) furnishes us with one of the earliest examples of legends of the early days of Buddhahood, and as such it forms the historical basis of later legendary accounts in the *Jātakas* and *Avadānas*.

The Buddha said to the five monks thus, "monks, do not address the truth-finder by name or by style of reverend. *Arahat*,[57] all enlightened is the truth-finder. The deathless has been won; I teach the doctrine, I preach it. Live up to what I enjoin and soon you will come to discern and realise, to enter on and to abide in that supreme goal of the higher life for the sake of which young men go forth from home to homelessness on pilgrimage." The five monks said thus, "Oh revered Gotama, the life you led, the path you trod, and the austerities you practised, all failed to make you transcend ordinary human scope and rise to special heights of discernment of the truly noble knowledge." The Buddha answered thus, "the deathless has been won by me. I preach the doctrine and I teach it. Live up to my teaching and you will soon realise the supreme goal of higher life." The Buddha succeeded in convincing the five monks. In course of receiving the Buddha's instruction they being themselves subject to re-birth, decay, disease, death, sorrow and impurity, saw peril in what is subject thereto and so they sought after the consummate peace of *nirvāṇa* which knows neither re-birth nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity.[58] *Nirvāṇa* consists essentially in subduing the haughty spirit, the perfect control of thrist, the paralysing of the very storage of creative energy, the arrest of the course of *saṃsāra* as regards the fate of an individual, the rare attainment of the state of emptyness, the

57. An elect is far from sins. His sins are destroyed. It has been said by the Blessed One that a monk becomes an *arahat* or elect when his sinful conditions are far away from him. Impurity is connected with rebirth in another existence with suffering and pain as consequence, and subject to re-birth, old age. and death in future (*Papañcasūdanī*, I, p. 42).

58. Cf. *Saundarananda-kāvya* (Ed. Johnston, 1928), Canto XVI. v. 27.

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waning of desire, the dispassionate state, and the cessation of all sense of discordance. There arose in them the conviction and the insight that their deliverance was assured and that this was their last birth nor would they ever be reborn again ("... *akuppā no vimutti, ayaṃ antimā jāti, natthi dāni punabbhavo*"). The two extremes (*dve antā*) to be avoided or reconciled with regard to the Buddhist system of morals are briefly described by the Buddha as the frivolity of worldly life and barbarity of asceticism (*kāmasukhalikānugoya, attakilamathānuyoga*).[59] Briefly speaking *Paṭiccasamuppāda* and *Nibbāna* are the main points of Buddhism. The first point is the basic idea of Buddhism as a system of thought and the second the goal of Buddhism as a religion. The former is introduced as causal relations (*idappaccagatā*) and the latter is introduced as the stilling of all plastic forces or the renunciation of all worldly ties, the destruction of craving, passionlessness, and tranquillity. This *sutta* does not offer any formula to interconnect the two. A sound philosophic foundation of ethics and morality can be laid in Buddha's *Patītyasamutpāda* or the law of causation.

As regards *Paṭiccasamuppāda,* vide my *Indological Studies,* Pt. II, Chap III; B. C. Law, *A Pali Counterpart of the Nalanda text of Pratītya-samutpāda-vibhaṅga* (*E.I.,* XXIII, pp. 241-42); vide also *JRAS.,* April 1939; E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought,* Chap. V; B. M. Barua, *Pratītya-samutpāda as basic concept of Buddhist Thought* in *B. C. Law Volume,* I, pp. 574ff.

The vision of *nirvāṇa* dawns upon consciousness; the realisation of *nirvāṇa* is possible in that stage of *samādhi* (trance, self-concentration), which is aptly called *saññāvedayitanirodha.* According to the Buddha's claim this is the ninth stage of *samādhi* reached for the first time by him, one step ahead of the eight *samāpattis* (attainments) already mastered by other contemplatives in India before his advent.

The first kind of life illustrated in this *sutta* by the life lived by the Bodhisatta as prince *Siddhārtha.* The second kind of life is exemplified in the *Mahāsīhanāda Sutta*[60] by the life lived by the

59. *Majjhima,* I. pp. 166 ff.
60. *Ibid.,* I, pp. 68 ff.

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same Bodhisatta as an *Acelaka* or *Ājīvika* after he had renounced the world.

In the *Cūḷahatthipadopama Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 175-84) the Buddha narrates to the brahmin Jānussoṇi the achievements of a Truth-finder. A Truth-finder preaches his doctrine which is conducive to good of all. He propounds a higher life that is wholly complete and pure. This doctrine is heard by the head of a house or his son or by one of any other birth, who hearing it forsakes the worldly life and becomes a monk. He keeps the *sīlas* (precepts), *cūla* (small), *majjhima* (middle size), and *mahā* (large). He becomes a master of this noble code of virtue and of control of his faculties of sense. He becomes a master of noble mindfulness and purpose in all he does. He takes shelter in a lonely place. His heart is set on mindfulness. His life is purged of all evils. He abides in the four ecstasies. This is the Truth-finder's footprint. The disciple of the Noble concludes that the Lord is enlightened and he has truly revealed his Doctrine and his Order walks aright.

A distinct school of wanderers existed known as the *Vacchāyanas* (*M.N.*, I, p. 175).

The *Mahāhatthipadopama Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 184-191) is attributed to Sāriputta. Sāriputta says that just as the foot of every creature that walks on the earth will go into the elephant's footprint, which is pre-eminent for size, even so are all right states of mind comprised within the Four Noble Truths — suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the path leading to the cessation of suffering. Sāriputta then explains the Noble Truth of suffering and says that the five attachments to existence (visible shapes, feeling, perception, confections, and consciousness) are sufferings (*dukkhā*). He next deals with the constituents of the attachment of visible shapes, viz., earth, water, fire and air, and concludes by saying that what is true of visible objects, is equally true of sound, smell, taste, touch and mind.

In the *Mahāsāropama Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 192-97) the Buddha refers to Devadatta's secession from the Order[61] and says that there

61. Cf. *Vinaya Texts*, III. S.B.E., pp. 238 ff.; Vide *Vinaya Piṭaka, Cullavagga*, VII.

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are some youths who outwardly being allured by the life of monks leave the household life. As monks they receive presents, esteem, and repute. But these things so please them and so satisfy their aspirations that thereby they become puffed up and disparage others. Thus they are wanting in vigour and fall a prey to suffering. But there are also some youths who do not fall a prey to suffering.

In the *Cūḷasaropama Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 198-205) the Buddha says to the brahmin Piṅgala-Koccha that the reward of higher life is not to be found in presents, esteem, and repute, nor in a life of virtue, nor in concentration nor in insight given by knowledge. It is certain emancipation of thought which is the essence and termination of holy life. This is the Buddha's reply to the question of the brahmin Piṅgala-Koccha. The question is this: whether by reason of their own professed creed that all the religious teachers, such as Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambali,[62] Padudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and Niganṭha Nāthaputta[63] have, or have not discerned truth, or that some of them have discerned it, while others have not. In this sutta the Buddha simply reproduces verbatim what we get about these six teachers in the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (I, pp. 142-44).

In the *Cūḷagosiṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 205-11) the Lord praises Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila[64] who by putting an end to evil desires have risen above the ordinary mortals.

In the *Mahāgosiṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 212-19) we find that in reply to the question what type of monk would beautify Gosiṅga wood, Ānanda speaks of one who treasures and hoards what he has been taught, who learns by heart the ideas which declare the higher life in all its perfection and purity. He refers to Revata, who delights in meditation; Anuruddha, who is blessed with the divine eye; Mahākassapa, who living in the forest recommends forest life and lives in solitude; Mahāmoggalana, who holds dis-

62. Ajit was distinguished in his life-time by the hair garment he wore. It seems that his disciples followed his example by wearing similar garments and hence they came to be known as *Kesakambalins*.

63. Vide *Buddhistic Studies* (Edited by B. C. Law), pp. 73-88, Chap. III, on *six heretical teachers* by B. C. Law.

64. Cf. the *Vinaya account*, S.B.E., XX, 228.

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course on the *Abhidhamma* with another monk for gaining edification on it; Sāriputta, who is master of his heart; and the Buddha, whose heart is delivered from all evil desires.

In the *Mahāgopālaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 220-24) the Buddha says that there are eleven good or bad qualities, in the case of a monk, which either enable him to show or disable him from showing progress in the doctrine and rites. A monk who knows the four elements, comprehends what marks the doings of the fool and the doings of the wise, develops control over his faculty of sight, goes from time to time to learned monks to ask and enquire of the difficult points of the doctrine, has a perfect knowledge of the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*) and tends with special attention the experienced and senior Elders, can really show growth, increase, and progress in the doctrine. But a monk who does not possess these qualities cannot show progress in the doctrine.

In the *Cūḷagopālaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 225-27) the Buddha says that those who will listen to and trust in the recluses and brahmins who are wrong about this world and hereafter, wrong about what is and what is not the realm of *Māra*,[65] wrong about what is and what is not the realm of Death, will long suffer and will be punished for it. They who follow the recluses and brahmins, who rightly comprehend this world and the next, the realm of Māra and Death, will long enjoy weal and welfare. The monks having destroyed the five worldly fetters will be translated hereafter to realms wherefrom they will never be reborn in this world. They having destroyed the three fetters and having reduced passion, hatred and folly to a minimum, will return but once more to this world and will then make an end of suffering. They hav-

65. Mrs. Rhys Davids' interpretation of Mara is worth noticing. She says, "when we used the term 'Māra', it was to speak of this or man as a very type of will-worsener, either as a sceptic, or as an encourager of low desires. Māra is never a very devil or demon but just a man who wills evil. The name means death and evil leads ever to some sort of destroying. The many stories on Māra mean only that. Māra is never described save as some man or creature. Never as woman! The daughters of Māra come nearest to that. Woman was reckoned as in herself Māra without the name" (*Gotama the Man*, pp. 126-27). Read in this connection my chapter on the *Buddhist conception of Māra* (*Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 257 foll.).

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ing destroyed the three fetters and entered the stream will escape all future state of misery, possess an assured future and are destined to attain enlightenment. They will surely cross the stream of Māra to the further shore in safety, if they live in accord with the doctrine and trust therein.

In the *Cūḷasaccaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 227-37) we have an account of the conversation between Saccaka and the Buddha. This Saccaka was the son of a Jain (woman), and was a great controversialist, who gave himself out as learned and was held in high popular repute. The Buddha said in reply to Saccaka thus, "Just as the growth, increase and development of every seed and of all vegetation depends on the earth; just as the accomplishment of all tasks involving strength always depends on the earth; just the same is it with an individual's material self (*rūpattā*) which because it is based on matter produces merit or demerit and the same applies to the individual self of feeling, perception, plastic forces and consciousness." Saccaka admitted thus, "I affirm that my material shape (*rūpa*) is myself, that my feeling, perception, plastic forces and consciousness are myself" (*rūpam me attāti vattati te tasmin rūpe vaso; evaṃ me rūpaṃ hotu evam me rūpaṃ mā ahosi*). The Buddha asked Saccaka thus: "Would a noble, being an anointed king like Pasenadi of Kosala or Ajātasattu of Magadha, have power within his own kingdom to put to death or exile those of his own subjects who deserve punishment? Saccaka answered in the affirmative. The Buddha again asked him, "Why even confederations and federations such as existing among the Vajjians or Mallians possess this power within their own realms; and of course a monarch like Pasenadi of Kosala or Ajātasattu of Magadha possesses it, he would have this power and ought to have it. What do you say Saccaka? When you say your material shape is your self, have you the power to make it become or not become what you order? Saccaka remained silent. The Buddha asked him for the second time and he still remained silent. The Buddha further said thus, "If a person is thrice asked a doctrinal question by the truth-finder and he does not answer it, his skull will be cut into seven pieces". Saccaka in dread and dismay expressed his willingness to answer the question. He answered in the negative as to the first point. He said that the material self was impermanent. He further said that what was impermanent was to doubt an ill.

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Saccaka did not succeed in answering the Master's question regarding schooling of the mind. The Buddha told him thus, "according to the doctrine in the rule of the noble, the schooling of the body referred to is not the proper schooling of the body. You did not understand it; much less can you expect to know the schooling of the mind? Listen how body and mind either go unschooled or are schooled. First as regards the unschooled body and mind take an ordinary uninstructed man who has a pleasant feeling so that he gets a passion for things pleasant and is passionately attached to them. Later that pleasant feeling passes and unpleasant feeling arises, at the advent of which he mourns and laments. The pleasant feeling takes possession of his mind because his body is not schooled. It is because his mind is not schooled that the unpleasant feeling takes possession of it and the man to whom both these things happen, is neither schooled in body nor schooled in mind. As to the schooled body and mind take an instructed disciple of the noble who has a pleasant feeling but gets therefrom no passion for things pleasant nor is passionately attached to them. That pleasant feeling passes and an unpleasant feeling arises but he does not grieve or mourn at its advent. As his body is schooled the pleasant feeling does not take possession of his mind. As his mind is schooled the unpleasant feeling does not take possession of it and the man to whom these two things happen is both schooled in body and mind.

The *Mahāsaccaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 237-51) narrates the Lord's triumph over Saccaka whose aim was to discredit the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Confraternity. It appears from this *sutta* that Mahāvīra (Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta) is said to have laid equal stress on *manokamma* and *kāyakamma* on the ground of the interaction of the body and mind (*cittaṅvayo kāyo hoti, kāyaṅvayaṃ cittaṃ hoti*). It follows from the theory of interaction of body and mind that bodily discipline (*kāyabhāvanā*) is no less needed for the purification of soul than mental (*cittabhāvanā*).

An Ājīvika never incurred the guilt of obeying another man's command. He refused to accept food especially prepared for him.

Buddha's vivid account of hard penances including the practice of *haṭhayoga* has its exact counterpart in the *Upaniṣads*.

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In the *Cūḷataṇhāsaṅkhya Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 251-56) the Lord explains briefly how a monk wins deliverance by the extirpation of cravings, so as to become consummate in perfection, in his union with peace, and in the higher life, and foremost among gods and men. Mahāmoggallāna was near the Lord to listen to his discourse. He occupied the foremost rank in respect of the possession of psychic power among the Buddha's immediate disciples.

In the *Mahātaṇhāsaṅkhya Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 256-71) the Buddha expounds his doctrine to Sāti, a fisherman's son, who misunderstanding the Lord's teaching of the doctrine, holds that consciousness runs on and continues without break of identity. The world of life is so ordained that there is no escape from decay and death for one who has been brought into existence by the natural process of creation by the parental union in the case of all higher forms of earthly beings.[66] This *sutta* refers to one of the modes of presentation of the *anuloma-paṭiccasamuppāda* in the usual order from the beginning to the end, the causal links being introduced in the form of a chain of thought from *avijjā* (ignorance) to *upāyāsā* (trouble).[67]

In the *Mahā-Assapura Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 271-80) the Buddha enumerates the qualities which are essential for an ideal recluse. An ideal recluse should be conscientious and scrupulous and pure in deed, word, and thought. He should train himself to guard the portals of the senses, to observe vigilance and moderation in food. He should be mindful and self-possessed and should live in solitude and sit in a charnel-ground with his mind set on mindfulness. He should remove the five hindrances and abide in the four ecstasies.[68] Such a monk is styled brahmin, noble and saintly.

In the *Cūḷa-Assapura Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 281-84) the Lord also speaks of the recluse's administration. A monk should not tread the recluse's path of duty. He should put away greed, malice, wrath, revenge, hypocrisy, fraud, and evil desires from

66. Cf. Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, pp. 260-61; Vide also *Papañcasūdanī*, PTS., p. 310.

67. Cf. *Udāna*, PTS., I, p. 1.

68. *Jhānas* or rapt musings or abstractions according to Mrs. Rhys Davids. The *Jhāna* is defined in Jainism as the resting of consciousness on a single object even for a moment (*antomuhuttamattaṃ cittāvatthānam egavatthummi*).

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him. It is not the robe which makes the recluse, nor living under a tree, nor chanting texts, nor having matted hair. It is by putting away all the evil qualities that one becomes a true monk. Thus removing the five hindrances and destroying the cankers a monk abides in the four ecstasies.

The *Sāleyyaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 285-90) narrates how the Buddha instructed the brahmin householders of Sālā, a brahmin village of the Kosalans convincing them of the truth of what he said. This *sutta* gives a list of all the gods of the *Kāmaloka, Rūpaloka,* and *Arūpaloka*[69] in the proper order though without the details which, however, must have been known to the authors of the suttas.

The brahmin householders put this question to the Lord: "why and wherefore is it that after death, at the dissolution of the body, some beings are re-born in states of suffering or woe or pugatory; while others are reborn in some happy state or heaven?" The Buddha replied thus, "those beings who are wicked pass to states of suffering and those who are righteous are reborn in happy states in heaven. There are three forms of unrighteousness and wickedness for the body, four for speech and three for thoughts. As regards bodily unrighteousness a man may take life like a hunter with hands bathed in blood (*lohitapāṇi*), slaying, merciless to living beings (*adayāpanno pāṇabhūteṣu*) or he may take what is not his own or may be a fornicator. As regards unrighteousness of speech a man may be a liar or a slanderer or he may be bitter of tongue or he may be a tattler. As regards unrighteousness of thought he may be covetous, malevolent and wicked or he may be wrong in outlook and erroneous in his conceptions."

As explained in this *Sutta sammādiṭṭhi* suggests an article of faith which is contrary to that inculcated by Ajitakesakambala and his followers. This article of faith consists in the acceptance of the belief that there is such a thing as gift, that there is such a thing as sacrifice, that there is such a thing as oblation to fire, that there are such things as results immediate and remote, of deeds, well-done and ill-done, this world, the other world, mother, father, adventitious birth, and such well-gifted and well-accomplished religious teachers who truly declare the nature of this and

69. Law, *Heaven & Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 8-9.

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the other world after having realised it through their higher perception or intuition and *micchādiṭṭhi* suggests an article of faith just contrary to this.

In the *Verañjaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 290-91) the Master instructed the brahmins who came to Sāvatthī from Verañja on some business or other, convincing them of the truth of his doctrine.

The *Mahāvedalla Sutta*[70] (*M.N.*, I, pp. 292-98) is a catechism of questions and answers of certain psychological topics, e.g., understanding, consciousness, feeling, perception, pure mental consciousness isolated from the five faculties of bodily sense, eye of understanding, right outlook, types of rebirth, and first *jhāna*.[71] This *sutta* contains the idea of voidness (*suññatā*).

The Buddhists contended for the superiority of their Master over all by the fact of his experience of the highest state of consciousness through the ninth *samāpatti*.

In the *Cūḷavedalla Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 299-305) the nun named Dhammadinnā replied to the lay disciple, Visākha's questions on personality, the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyaaṭṭhaṅgikamaggo*), and the confections (*samkhāra*).[72]

70. Read 'The Vedalla Sutta as illustrating the psychological basis' by C. A. Foley, M.A. In this paper questions on matters mainly psychological are answered and some miscellaneous philosophical problems, psychological, ethical, logical, and metaphysical, are raised and discussed, *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, Read also Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology*, 2nd Ed., 1924, Chaps. II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, etc.

71. *Jhāna* means ecstatic contemplation. The four or five *jhānas* signify nothing else than four or five stages in a process of *jhāna* (Sanskrit *dhyāna*) from its inception to its termination in the attainment of the state of trance (*samāpatti*). The Buddha points out that there are four classes of people who practise *jhāna*: (1) one who practises meditation is skilled in concentration but is not skilled in the attainment thereof; (2) one who practises meditation is skilled in concentration itself; (3) one who practises meditation is neither skilled in concentration nor skilled in the attainment thereof; (4) one who practises meditation is skilled both in concentration and the fruits thereof. Of the four the last one is the best and the most preeminent (Cf. *Samyutta Nikāya*, III, pp. 263-79). For further details vide my *Concepts of Buddhism*. Chap. VI.

72. *Saṃkhāra* is rendered as complexes or mental co-efficients, synergies, confections of mind having the characteristic of composing, the function of combining and the manifestation of being busy (Law, *Buddhaghosa*, 1946, pp. 118 ff.).

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Inhalations and exhalations are the confections of the body; argument and investigation are the *saṃkhāras* or confections of speech; consciousness and sensation are the *saṃkhāras* of thought (Cf. *Samyutta*, IV, 293; *Vibhaṅga*, 135).

Dhammadinnā sought to make a distinction between *vijjā* and *avijjā* when she premised that *vijjā* follows from *avijjā* and *avijjā* from *upekkhā*. In reply to the question as to what follows by way of reaction from *nirvāṅa*, Dhammadinnā wisely says that *nirvāṅa* is generally regarded as the final step in the process of thought in order to avoid an infinite regress for the sake of *pariyantagahaṇaṃ* in her own language. But she has not failed to indicate that even if there be any further reaction, that also takes place in the line and whatever follows therefrom will also appertain to *nirvāṇa* and therefore will partake of its nature. In the process of causal genesis which may be interpreted as the underlying cosmic life or moral law, it is much possible that the reaction of pleasure is pain and *vice versa*.

In the *Cūḷadhammasamādāna Sutta* and the *Mahādhammasamādanā Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 305-17) the Master says that there are four ways to profess a doctrine. The first is pleasant for the time being but ripens to pain thereafter; the second is unpleasant for the time being and ripens to pain thereafter; the third is unpleasant for the time being but ripens to be pleasant thereafter; and the fourth is not only pleasant for the time being but also ripens to be pleasant thereafter.

In the *Vīmaṃsaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 317-20) the Buddha says that the enquiring monk who searches the heart of other, ought to study the Truth-finder. He ought to study the Truth-finder in respect of the two states of consciousness which come through eye and ear. He should see whether the revered man is restrained in fearlessness or through fear or whether it is solely by reason of passionlessness that he eschews pleasures of senses, having eradicated all passion. If any man's faith in the Truth-finder is planted by the foregoing researches, then such faith is based on insight and reason.

In the *Kosambiya Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 320-25) we are told that once disputes were ripe in Kosambī among the monks regarding

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certain Vinaya rules. The Master spoke on amity and its root in order to bring about a conciliation.

In the *Brāhmaṇimaṇṭaṇika Sutta* [73] (*M.N.*, I, pp. 326-33) we are told that the Buddha held conversation with Baka the Brahmā who conceived the pernicious view that this world was permanent with no rebirth thence. The Master explained what was true. Māra tried to conquer both the Buddha and Brāhma, but he failed to do so.

The Buddha says, "there comes a time now and again when after the lapse of a long period the world system passes away (*samvaṭṭati*). When this happens, living beings including gods are reborn in the world of radiance (*ābhassaraloka*), that is to say, they assume luminous forms or nebular bodies. In this state they persist for a long time, being conscious, self-luminous, feeding on joy and traversing the sky." (Cf. *Chāndogya upaniṣad*, viii, 5, 3; *Kauśitakī upaniṣad*, I, 3).

The *Māratajjaniya Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 332-38) is one of those early dialogues which presents an episode of the Buddha and Māra, the tempter. Saccaka the Jaina clearly implies that the followers of Mahāvīra cultivate equally both the modes of self-training on the ground that which affects the body also affects the mind and *vice versa*. The verses forming the epilogue of the *sutta* bear a favourable comparison with the *Padhāna sutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta* (vs. 425-449 PTS Ed.—Cf. *Aṅguttara*, V, pp. 342-47).

In the *Kandaraka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 339-49) Buddha speaks against asceticism. He denounces one who torments himself and is given to self-mortification; one who torments others and is given to tormenting others; and one who torments himself and others, and is given to tormenting both. He praises one who tormenting neither himself nor others dwells beyond appetites and in bliss and in holiness.

In the *Aṭṭhakanāgara Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 349-53) Ānanda speaks of the steps to *nirvāṇa*. A monk divested of pleasures of senses and divested of wrong states of consciousness, enters on and

73. Cf. *Samyutta*, I. p. 142—No mention of Māra in the *Bakobrahmā Sutta*. Many *Brahmakāyikadevas* are mentioned in this sutta.

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dwells in the first, the second, the third, and the fourth *jhānas* or contemplations. With radiant goodwill, pity and sympathy and poised equanimity, he pervades the four quarters of the world. By passing beyond perception of material objects, perception of sense-reactions, and perception of differences, he abides in the plane of infinity of space, the plane of infinity of consciousness, and the plane of naught.

In the *Sekha Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 353-59) Ānanda says how a disciple of the noble is virtuous, keeps watch and ward over the portals of sense, is temperate in eating, vigilant, established in the seven virtuous qualities, and is able at will to induce the four *jhānas*[74] or contemplations which transcend thought and confer well-being here and now.

In the *Potaliya Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 359-68) the Buddha deals with what is true-giving under the law of the noble. This includes abstention from killing, theft, lying, calumny, covetousness, taunts, anger, and arrogance.

In the *Jivaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 368-71) the Buddha speaks of what is meant by lawful and unlawful meats. A monk should not take meat, if there is the evidence either of his eyes or of his ears or if there are grounds of suspicion that the animal is slain expressly for him.

In the *Upāli Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 371-87) the Buddha had a conversation with Upāli,[75] a Jain, a follower of Nāthaputta the Niganṭha. According to the Niganṭhas, there are three kinds of inflictions which effect and start demerit—those of body. speech and thought (*kāyadaṇḍa, vacidaṇḍa* and *manodaṇḍa*). Each is distinct from the other. They hold that those of body are the most criminal in effecting and starting demerit, the other two being less criminal.

74. See Mrs. Rhys Davids' *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, pp. 171 foll.

75. Mrs. Rhys Davids, says "in his own way he was worldly enough; the laity looked upon him as the mainstay of a dignified and self-respecting standard in the monk-world. He attached great importance to discipline" (*Gotama the man*, p. 215; Vide also my *Historical Gleanings*, p. 92). Mrs. Rhys Davids draws our attention to the fact that the three verses in the collection were not by this Upāli. He was not a poet. Nor are they by Upāli the barber. They are by an Upāli of whom no memory remains; the commentary is in double error here (*Gotama the man*, pp. 215-16).

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Upāli went to the Buddha and said "Is it reasonable that you should declare *manodaṇḍa* as the most sinful? How is it that *manokamma* is more sinful than gross kāyakamma?" The Lord said "The act of killing animals cannot be performed unless the desire for killing arises in one's own mind. So in every act mind is the principal factor and mind precedes all acts, good or bad. All acts virtuous or vicious originate from mind, so why should not *manokamma* be more sinful than *kāyakamma?*" Buddha laid the whole emphasis on thought (*manokamma*). Mahāvīra laid stress on deed, word, and thought. Gosāla the heretical teacher laid stress mainly on deed and word.

The main determining factor of an act is volition, motive or intention (vide *Majjhima,* I, p. 377).

The *gāthās* uttered by Upāli in praise of the qualities of the Buddha are pieces of a remarkable, composition characterised by majestic and dignified tone (Cf. *Sūtrakritāṅga, Jaina Sūtras,* Pt. II, S.B.E., pp. 414-17).

The Buddha delivered a progressive discourse to Upāli on gift, virtue, heaven, perils of vanity, foulness of the pleasures of senses, and the gains to be won by renouncing wordly things. Upāli grasped the Buddha's doctrine and embraced Buddhism. It should be noted here that not even in the case of a layman did it ever demand than an unflinching devotion or that profession of blind faith which leads men by imperceptible steps to harbour bigotry, to become religious fanatics, and to shut the gate of benevolence for every fellow being who happens to be a stranger.

In the *Kukkuravatika-Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 387-92) we are told that to Puṇṇa Koliyaputta, who was a man of bovine vow, and Seṇiya, a naked ascetic, who was a man of canine vow, Buddha says that the future state of both is either purgatory or rebirth as an animal. The Buddha further says that there are four kinds of action: (1) actions which are dark, with dark outcome, (2) actions which are bright, with bright outcome, (3) actions which are both dark and bright, with dark and bright outcome, and (4) actions which are neither dark nor bright, with an outcome neither dark nor bright, conducive to the destruction of *Karma.*[76] Both Puṇṇa and Seṇiya took refuge in the Buddha.

76. Law, *Concept of Buddhism,* Chap. IX.

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In the *Abhayarājakumāra Sutta*[77] (*M.N.*, I, pp. 392-96) *Abhaya*-Rājakumāra, a discipline of Nāthaputta the Niganṭha, tried to discredit the Buddha. But the Buddha triumphed over him and the latter took refuge in the Buddhist Triad. It follows from the evidence available in this *sutta* that Niganṭha Nāthaputta[78] was aware of the dissension between the Buddha and Devadatta.[79]

In the *Bahuvedaniya Sutta*[80] (*M.N.*, I, pp. 396-400) the Lord speaks on the various classes of feelings. Five in number are the pleasures of senses, namely, material shapes apparent to the eye, sound, smell, taste, and touch. Every pleasant gratification which arises from these five pleasures of senses is called sensual pleasure. But this is not the highest pleasure. Beyond this, there is a pleasure more excellent. This is enjoyed by a monk who abides by the four ecstasies or rapt musings of contemplations, plane of infinity of consciousness and plane of naught.

In the *Apaṇṇaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 400-13) the Master expounds the sound doctrine to recluses and brahmins, who held views which were diametrically opposite. He discards both and refers to the doctrine which is sound, namely, the Master's own doctrine. The Buddha said, "there are four types of individuals to be found in the world: (1) there is one who tortures himself and is given upto self-torture; (2) then there is one who tortures others and is set on torturing them; (3) next there is one who tortures both himself and others; and (4) lastly there is one who tortures neither himself nor others. The last individual dwells here and now beyond all appetites, consummate, blissful and perfected."

77. Cf. Nāyādhammakahāo, pp. 81 ff.

78. Niganṭha means free from bonds. Spence Hardy says that Mahāvirā was called Niganṭha Nāhaputta because he declared that there was no science with which he was not acquainted (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 302). We think that the Niganṭhas were those who were free from knots, that is, those who were free from ties and bonds that keep men enchained to this world of woe and travail and those who were free from restraints and hindrances.

79. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 79—Kern holds that Devadatta's agitation against the Buddha must be dated sometime after the death of Bimbisāra (*Indian Buddhism*, pp. 38-39) which took place when the Buddha reached the age of seventytwo.

80. Cf. *Samyutta Nikāya*. IV, pp. 223-28.

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In the *Ambalaṭṭhikā Rāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 414-20) the Buddha discourses about lying. He condemns it and advises the monks to win purity in deed, word, and thought by constant reflection. This *sutta* supplies the Pali counterpart of the tract referred to in the *Bhābru-Edict* under a descriptive title, *Lāghulavāda Sutta*, embodying the Buddha's discourse on the subject of falsehood.

In the *Mahā Rāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 420-26) Sāriputta admonishes Rāhula to develop mindfulness which comes from inhalation and exhalation (breathing exercises).

In the *Cūḷa-Māluṅkya Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 426-32) we are told that Māluṅkyā-Putta was dissatisfied with the life of a recluse as the Buddha did not expound to him the various speculations about the past and present. The Buddha said that he did not expound them as they were irrelevant and not conducive to the higher life.

In the *Mahā-Māluṅkya Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 432-37) the Buddha deals with the five bonds[81] which chain men to the lower life. He also suggests the means to put an end to the five bonds.

In the *Bhaddāli Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 437-47) the Buddha admonishes Bhaddāli to be obedient and to conduct himself according to the Master's teachings.

In the *Laṭukikopama Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 447-56) the Buddha says that there are foolish people who when told to give up something, do not give it up. But this insignificant thing grows into a bond strong enough to hold them fast. The *Laṭukika Jātaka*[82] is nothing but a popular illustration of the teachings of this *sutta*.

In the *Cātuma Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 456-62) the Lord mentions the four terrors (temper, gluttony, the five pleasures of senses, and women) which await those who in this doctrine and rule (*dhammavinaya*) go forth from home to homelessness as monks.

81. The five *Orambhāgiyāni-Samyojanāni* are the following:—*Sakkāyadiṭṭhi* (false view of individuality), *Vicikicchā* (doubt), *Sīlabbatāparāmāsa* (affectation of rites), *Kāmacchanda* (desire for sensual pleasures) and *Byāpāda* (malevolence).

82. Fausboll, *Jātaka*. Vol. III, pp. 174-77.

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In the *Naḷakapāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 462-68—the stimulus of example) the Truth-finder's object in saying that such and such a monk by destroying five bonds, has been translated to heaven never to come back thence to earth, by destroying the three bonds he is safe from future states of punishment, is not to delude folk, nor to get for himself gains or fame, nor to advertise himself as revealing the respective states hereafter of his disciples, dead and gone. It is because there are young men who believe and are filled with enthusiasm and gladness, who, on hearing this revealation, concentrate their whole hearts on becoming like these, for their own abiding good and welfare. For a popular illustration of this teaching, one must turn to *Naḷapāna Jātaka*.[83]

In the *Gulissāni Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 469-73) Sāriputta discusses the duties of a monk who comes in from the wilds to the confraternity and lives with monks. Such a monk should show respect and consideration to his fellows in the higher life. He should be correct in the matter of seats, punctilious neither to displace seniors nor to oust juniors. He should not visit the village at too early an hour. He ought to keep watch over his faculties. He should be moderate in his eating and steadfast in good will.

In the *Kiṭāgiri Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 473-81) the Buddha admonishes two monks to put implicit faith in his teachings. He says that he has the knowledge of what is to be eschewed and that they should give it up. The Buddha further said, "those monks who are saints (*arahats*) in whom cankers are dead, who have greatly lived, whose task is done, who have shed their burden, who have won their weal, whose bonds are no more, who by utter knowledge have won deliverance—of such monks as those I do not aver that they need to toil on with diligence. And why?—because they have already achieved all that toil can achieve and now are incapable of slackness. But of those monks who are still under training and have not won their hearts' desire but live in earnest yearning for that utter peace—of such monks as these I do aver that they need to toil on diligently. And why? I do so because the fruit of diligence which I can see for such monks is that in suitable surroundings with a picked circle of good friends and with faculties

83. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 170 ff.

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duly regulated, they will surely win that for the sake of which youngmen go forth from home to homelessness as pilgrims and will surely reach the goal of the higher life, discerning it, realising it, developing it, and abiding therein."

In the *Tevijja--Vacchagotta Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 481-83) we are told that Vacchagotta[84] a wanderer, had a wrong idea of the lore possessed by the Buddha. The recluse Gotama tells the wanderer that the threefold lore possessed by him is as follows: he can call to mind his past existences, with eye celestial he can see creatures in act to pass hence and reappear elsewhere, and by destroying evil desires he has won that deliverance of heart and mind in which there are no evil desires. The wanderer asked the Lord thus "Is there any layman who without removing the fetter of home (*gihisaṃyojanaṃ*) has at the dissolution of the body made an end of evil?" The Buddha's answer was in the negative. In this *sutta* Gotama points out that there is none among the Ājīvakas who after death has attained arahatship. He further says that he knows only one among them who has gone to heaven. From this *sutta* we learn that according to the Buddhist tradition an Indian teacher,[85] who was a householder, propounded the doctrine of *karma* before the advent of the Buddha who therefore did not originate it.

In the *Aggivacchagotta Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 483-89) we are told that the Master got Aggivacchagotta as his disciple who put to him questions on the speculations about the past and the future. The Buddha felt it necessary to explain his own position thus: "Just as it is not possible to know where the fire is gone, which was so long burning before a man after it is existinguished once for all on the exhaustion of all materials of burning—the fuel—in the same way it is not possible to represent a *Tathāgata*[86] after he has passed

84. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 19.

85. This was Yājñavalkya, the founder of the Vājasaneya school who was the most notable person in the history of Indo-Aryanism prior to the advent of the Buddha.

86. It seems that the term *Tathāgata* was at first applied to a sentient being and afterwards to a Buddha. A Buddha is called a *Tathāgata* for the following reasons: (1) he has come in the same way; (2) he has gone in the same way; (3) he is endowed with the sign of *tatha;* (4) he is supremely enlightened in *tathādhamma;* (5) he has seen *tatha;* (6) he preaches

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away on the complete exhaustion of all materials of bodily existence and of all pre-requisites of representation of an individual as commonly known." Buddha's persistent reluctance to answer any of the four questions put to him regarding the fate of the *Tathāgata* after death caused puzzlement to his interlocutor, *Aggivacchagotta*. Buddha offered an explanation, the purport of which was to indicate that the condition of the *Tathāgata* after *parinibbāna* was incapable of description in suitable terms. An interesting description of the state of existence of a person on his attainment of *parinibbāna* is found in the *Udāna* (p. 9). It has been put into the mouth of the Buddha himself.

In the *Dīghanakha Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 497-501) Buddha in reply to Dīghanakha's question says that those who are satisfied with all, hold a view which is allied to passion and pleasure. Those who are dissatisfied with all, hold a view which is allied to passionlessness and freedom. Others again partly take the former and partly the latter view. The Master then expounds the doctrine leading to deliverance. This *sutta* is referred to as *Vedanāpariggaha Suttanta* in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (P.T.S.), I, p. 96.

In the *Māgandiya Sutta* (*M.N.*, I, pp. 501-13) Māgandiya, a wanderer, described the Buddha in a disgraceful term as a repres-

tatha; (7) he does *tatha* faithfully; and (8) he overcomes all (Law, *History of Pali Literature*. II, pp. 412 ff.). According to the *Papañcasūdanī* (I, 45-51) the Blessed Gotama appeared on this earth for the welfare of all beings like the previous Buddhas. He fulfilled the ten *pāramitās* or perfections and attained enlightenment like the former Buddhas. Like the previous Buddhas he walked seven steps towards the north. Sitting under a white umbrella he looked all around and said. "I am the foremost and the best in this world." He gave up all desires for sensual pleasures by renunciation, malevolence by non-injurious desire, sloth and torpor by his right vision. He removed doubt by the analysis and exposition of norm and ignorance by his knowledge. He fully realised the true characteristics of the four elements, the four noble truths and dependent origination. He heard, knew, touched, tasted, and thought of all that was in existence in the human world as well as in the world of gods. He took the role of a preacher. What he preached and taught was complete, correct and perfect in meaning and to the point. His action was in agreement with his speech and *vice versa*. He overcame everything commencing from the highest *Brahmaloka* to the *Avīci* hell.

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sionist (*Bhūnahu*).[87] Buddha said that he was not so. The truth-finder subjugated the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, consciousness and their respective functions. He preached the doctrine for the subjugation of these. The attainment of the highest gain can be obtained by destroying all these.

In the *Sandaka Sutta*[88] (*M.N.*, I, pp. 513-24) Ānanda refers to the four antitheses to the higher life. First, there is the teacher who holds that it does not matter whether actions are good or bad. Secondly there is a teacher who holds that no evil is done by him who either acts himself or causes another to act, who mutilates or causes another to mutilate. Thirdly, there is a teacher who holds that there is no cause or reason for either depravity or purity. Lastly, there is the teacher who holds the sattākāya doctrine.

Ānanda also speaks of four comfortless vocations. First, there is the teacher who is all-knowing and all-seeing. Secondly, there is the teacher who preaches a doctrine which is both traditional and scriptural. Thirdly, there is the teacher who is a rationalist of pure reason and criticism. Lastly, there is the teacher who is stupid and deficient. All these are false guides to the higher life.

In the teachings of the wanderers self-reliance was the *raison dêtre* of their ethics. They did not give any place to god, fate, chance, time etc. (Cf. *Brihaspatisūtra*, II). A system of moral discipline is based on customs usages, or traditions handed down from time immemorial (*anussava* or *itiha-itiha paramparā piṭaka-sampadā dhammā*).

In the *Mahāsakuladāyi Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 1-22) the Master deals with the key to pupil's esteem how a teacher can command the respect of his disciples. In this *sutta* we read that Sakuludāyi

87. In Sanskrit it is *Brunahan*, Cf. *Iśopaniṣad* in which the Vājasaneyas speak of some unknown opponents who were perhaps unmarried recluses as *atmahanojanā* (vide my *Historical Gleanings*, p. 19).

The wanderer Māgandiya judged the Buddha to be an exterminator of human race in the same way as the *Vājasaneyas* judged the *Muṇḍakas* to be self-murderers.

88. Cf. Jaina *Bhagavatisutra* (II, 1) wherein occurs the name of the brahmin wanderer named Khandaka (Skandhaka). The name of the brahmin wanderer sounds like the wanderer Sandaka of the *Majjhima*.

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informed the Buddha that in the past Aṅga and Maghadha were seething with sophistic activities. The Buddha said to Sakuladāyi thus, "I have shown my disciples the way whereby they develop the four starting points for mustering up mindfulness. I have also shown them to develop the four right struggles, the four bases of psychic power, the five faculties, the five strengths, the seven factors of enlightenment, the noble eightfold path, the eight deliverances, the eight spheres of mastery, the ten hypnotics, the four ecstasies etc. I have also shown them how by uprooting cankers to know, realise, enter on and abide in that deliverance of heart and mind in which cankers are no more.

It is in reference to the six schools of philosophy and to those alone that Buddha and his contemporaries said, that they were in the habit of exchanging wrangling phrases in the heat of philosophic discussion. "You do not understand this doctrine and discipline. I do. How should you know about this doctrine and discipline? You have fallen into wrong views. It is I who am right."

This *sutta* alludes to Magadha as seething with speculative fervour stirred up by the heretical teachers. The disciples of the heretical teachers[89] carried on philosophical discussions with indomitable energy and boldness characterising the spirit of the age.

Lord Chalmers in his introduction to the *Further Dialogues of the Buddha* (Pt. I, p. xix) points out that it is apparent from this *sutta* that each individual was left free, within generous limits, to choose the mode of living which suited his own particular needs, even if it included austerities which Gotama neither recommended to others nor practised himself.

In the *Samaṇamaṇḍika Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 22-29) we are told that according to Uggahamāna, a wanderer,[90] four qualities

89. The *Mahāsakuladāyisutta* mentions Pūraṇa Kassapa. Makkhali Gosāla, Ajitakesakambalī, Pakudhakaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Niganṭha Nāthaputta as the six heretical teachers. I have fully treated their influence on Jainism and Buddhism in my *Historical Gleanings*, Chaps. III & VI. Vide also the *Buddhistic Studies* ed. B. C. Law, Chap. III.

90. Vide my *Historical Gleanings*, p. 18. Uggahamāna, who was in the Mallikārāma at Ekasālaka, met Pañcakaṅga Thapati on his way to Jetavana and discussed with him about the perfect man.

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characterise a triumphant recluse who has won all that is to be won. He does nothing evil, he thinks nothing evil, and he gets his living in no evil way. According to the Buddha, however, there are ten qualities which make a monk a triumphant recluse, who is inbued with the right, excels in the right, and has won all that is to be won.

In the *Cūḷasakuludāyi Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 29-39) the Blessed One pointed out the emptiness of the tenets of the wanderer Sakuludāyi, who had a vague idea of what is perfection, and spoke on the Four Ecstasies or rapt musings or abstractions or contemplations and other states of consciousness while explaining the world of absolute bliss and the sure way to realise it. Sakuludāyi was converted. This *Sutta* further informs us that according to Mahāvīra, the four precepts and self-privation are the recognised roads to the blissful state of the soul. In Mahāvīra's view the established path to the realm of the highest bliss lies through abstinence from killing, theft, adultery, lying and such austere penances as nudity, confession etc. The doctrine of soul belongs historically to Yājñavalkya whom the Buddha seems to have esteemed as the upholder of *Kiriyāvāda* or *Kammavāda*.

In the *Vekhanassa Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 40-44) the Lord proves the emptiness of the tenets of the wanderer Vekhanassa who had a very queer idea of what perfection is. Vekhanassa became a lay disciple of the Buddha. It may be noticed here that Buddhaghosa says that Vekhanassa was the teacher of Sakuladāyi.[91]

In the *Ghaṭikāra Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 45-54) the Blessed One spoke to Ānanda on Ghaṭikāra's (a potter by profession) devotion. Ghaṭikāra had a friend named Jotipāla. Once they went together to Kassapa the Lord. Hearing the doctrine preached by the Lord himself Jotipāla decided to go from home to homelessness as a monk. Ghaṭikāra could not forsake the worldly life as he had to support his aged blind parents. But he in his devotion to the Lord Kassapa surpassed all others and he fulfilled the layman's duties as sanctioned by Buddhism. Once the Lord Kassapa was invited by Kiki, King of Kāsī. Kassapa accepted the invitation and went to Kiki. The king entreated the Lord to spend the rainy

91. Lord Chalmers, 'Further Dialogues of the Buddha', Pt. II, p. 21 f.n.

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season in his kingdom. But Kassapa told the king that he had already promised to Ghaṭikāra to stay at Vehaliṅga[92] under his care. Kassapa then spoke very highly of Ghaṭikāra's devotion.

In the concluding lines Buddha identifies himself with Jotipāla.

In the *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta*[93] (*M.N.*, II, pp. 54-74) a true monk goes from home to homelessness, when he knows, sees, and hears the following four propositions enumerated by the Master, e.g., the world is in continual flux and change; the world is no protector or preserver; the world owns nothing; the world lacks and hankers being enslaved to craving. That cannot be called a true renunciation when one goes forth from home to homelessness as a monk, for old age, failing health, impoverishment, and death of kinsfolk. The *gāthās* uttered by Raṭṭhapāla giving out his religious experience are highly interesting as being the prototype of the poems in the *Theragāthā* (vs. 769-88).

In the *Makhādeva Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 74-83) Makhādeva, King of Mithilā, in order to seek celestial pleasures, renounced the world. His son also when he enjoyed fully wordly pleasures, left the wordly life. The last of the three kings to do so was Nimi. Nimi's son Janaka broke this tradition. This *sutta* is mentioned in the *Cullaniddesa* (p. 80, Maghādeva) as one of the four earliest examples of *Jātakas*.[94] This *sutta* shows that *dhamma* itself is the basis or foundation of both *dhamma* and *sīla* that are to be fulfilled in practice. Mrs. Rhys Davids rightly says that *dhamma* or norm is identified with *sīla*, the moral code, the basis in Buddhism on which to build.

In the *Madhura Sutta*[95] (*M.N.*, II, pp. 83-90) Mahākaccāna speaks against the Brahmanical claims that they are superior to

92. Cf. Law's 'A Study of the Mahāvastu,' pp. 45 foll. It is called Verudiṅga village in the *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 317.

93. There is a paper on the *Raṭṭhapāla Sutta* by Walter Lupton, I.C.S. The Pali text together with a translation is given there. The writer has made use of the commentary wherever necessay—*J.R.A.S.*, 1894. The same story is told in practically the same words about Suddiṇṇa in *Vinaya*, III, pp. 11-15.

94. Cf. *Makhādeva Jātaka*, Vol. I, pp. 137 ff.

95. Read a paper on the *Madhura Sutta* concerning caste by Robert Chalmers. The Pali text and commentary together with a translation are given here. This paper reveals the Buddhist view of caste, *J.R.A.S.*, 1894; Cf. *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*, *Dīgha*, I, which also deals with the same topic.

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all other castes. The emptiness of the Brahmin claim to superiority is shown by the fact that if anyone, be he a noble, Brahmin, *vessa* or *suddha*, kills, robs, lies, slanders, covets, harbours ill-will, is of bitter tongue, or has a wrong outlook, he after death must pass to a state of misery, woe or purgatory. The same misery awaits everyone who is guilty of such crimes. It is also demonstrated by the fact that if anyone, be he a noble, a middle-class man or a peasant, abstains from all such crimes, he passes after death to bliss, and happy region. It can further be proved by the fact that if anyone is a burglar, thief or house-breaker, he is equally punished by the ruler of the realm irrespective of the caste of the accused. It is also apparent from the fact that he whether a Brahmin, a *vessa* or a *sūdda*, who cuts off his hair and beard and dons the yellow robe and goes from door to door as a pilgrim, abstaining from killing, lying, or stealing, eating but one meal a day and living the higher life in virtue and goodness, such a one is honoured and respected and provided with all the necessities of life (Cf. *Assalāyana sutta*, pp. 147 ff. and *Esukāri sutta*, pp. 177 ff. of the *Majjhima Nikaya* besides the *Madhura sutta* where the Brahmin pretensions are also discussed). The *Madhura sutta* deals with caste system under five heads. It teaches that caste cannot ensure material success in life, cannot save the wicked from punishment hereafter, cannot debar the good from bliss hereafter, cannot shield the evil-doers from criminal law and cannot affect the uniform veneration extended to the monk whether he be sprung from the highest or the lowest of the four castes. The four castes are equal in all these important respects. Lord Chalmers (*JARS*, 1894, p. 348) rightly says that the *Madhura sutta* does not state nor does any other *sutta* venture to state that in every possible respect the four castes were on one identical footing of equality. Such a statement would have evinced blindness to facts for although in all essentials, caste was not an empty name to the Buddha, yet the distinctions of caste had a residual sphere of activity and ranked among the accidents of life. While caste had no part in higher life and was irrelevant in the less trivial of mundane relations, yet there no doubt remained the region, where, in the absence of higher qualifications, the hereditary distinctions of caste were accepted as an appropriate differentia between little men. But into this trivial region Gautama disdained to enter. He was content to explore the caste theory without denouncing it as a formal institution.

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In the *Bodhirājakumāra Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 91-97) we find that in reply in Bodhi's question how long it would take a monk with the Truth-finder as his guide to win the prize of prizes. Buddha says that there must be aptness, in a monk, to learn.

The *Aṅgulimāla Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 97-105) gives a vivid account of taming and conversion of the bandit, Aṅgulimāla, by the Buddha. The *gāthās* uttered by Aṅgulimāla are precisely those attributed to him in the *Theragāthā* (verses 867-91). This *sutta* contains better examples of riddles found in the Jaina *Aṃtagaḍadasāo*.

In the *Piyajātika Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 106-12) the Lord by references to actual facts points out that dear ones do bring sorrow and lamentation, pain, suffering, and tribulation.

In the *Bāhitika Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 112-17) King Pasenadi talked with Ānanda on the subject of right and wrong behaviour. This *sutta* teaches us that behaviour, whether of act or of word or thought, is wrong, which is blame-worthy, malevolent and which ripens into suffering and which conduces to the harm either of one's self or of others or of both together; and that behaviour is right which is divested of all these evils.

In the *Dhammacetiya Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 118-25) King Pasenadi commends the doctrine in monumental words. He says that there is always strife going on between kings, nobles, brahmins, and house-holders, but the monks live in peace and concord. There are novices and brahmins who are lean and miserable creatures, but the monks are joyous and joyful beings, free from care and worry.

Dīgha Kārāyana and Ghoṭamukha were younger contemporaries of the Buddha. Dīgha Kārāyana was an attendant of Pasenadi.

In the *Kaṇṇakatthala Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 125-33) Pasenadi asked the Lord about omniscience, about the purity of the four classes of nobles, brahmins, middle-class people and peasants and about the supreme Brahmā. The Buddha explained these in a manner which gladdened the king. According to him at one and the same time, no brahmin could know and see everything. He further said, "a malign Brahmā does return to life on earth, while a benign Brahmā does not."

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In the *Brahmāyu Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 133-46) the Buddha convinces both the brahmin Brahmāyu and his pupil Uttara that he possesses the thirty-two marks of a superman, viz., "(1) his tread is firmly planted; (2) on his soles are the wheels, complete with a thousand spokes and with felloes and hubs; (3) his heels project; (4) his digits are long; (5) he has soft hands and feet; (6) his fingers and toes spring clean, without webbing between them; (7) his ankles are over the exact middle of his tread; (8) his legs are like an antelope's; (9) while standing bolt upright, he can, without bending, touch and rub his knees with both hands at once; (10) his privities are within a sheath; (11) golden of hue is he; (12) so fine is his skin's texture that no dust or dirt can lodge on it; (13) each hair of his body grows separate and distinct, each from its own individual pore; (14) each hair starts straight, is blue-black like collyrium, and curls to the right at the tip; (15) he is as straight as a die; (16) his body shows the same convexities; (17) his chest is like a lion's; (18) his back is flat between the shoulders; (19) his proportions are those of the banyan tree,—his stretch being the same as his height; (20) the curve of his shoulders is symmetrical; (21) his sense of taste is consummate; (22) he has the jaw of a lion; (23) he has forty teeth; (24) his teeth are all the same length; (25) there are no interstices between his teeth; (26) his teeth are sparkling white; (27) his tongue is big; (28) his voice is melodious as the cuckoo's note; (29) the pupils of his eyes are intensely dark; (30) his eyelashes are like a cow's; (31) between his eye-brows grow soft white hairs like cotton-down; and (32) his head is shaped like a turban" (Lord Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. II, pp. 72-73; Cf. *Majjhima Nikaya*, Vol. II, pp. 137 foll).

In the *Sela Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, p. 146) the brahmin Sela, seeing the thirty-two marks[96] in the body of the Buddha, took refuge in the Buddhist Triad.

96. Cf. *Visuddhimagga* (P.T.S.), I, pp. 249-65, pp. 353-63; *Paramatthajotikā* on the *Khuddakapāṭha*, I, pp. 41-68; *Sammohavinodanī* (Sinhalese Ed.), 49-63; *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* (Vol. II, 293); *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, (1, 57); Mrs. Rhys Davids translates *Dvattiṃsākāraṃ* as the thirty-two modes of body (*Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, SBB. Pt. I, Prefatory Note, V, 1931).

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In the *Assalāyana Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 147-57) the Buddha speaks against the brahmanical pretensions that the brahmins are superior to all other castes. When a son is born to a young noble and a brahmin maiden, he is styled both a brahmin and a noble. Between two uterine brahmin brothers of whom one is an educated scholar and the other not educated, brahmins generally give preference to the educated one in making gifts, but if the educated one is wicked and profligate and the uneducated one is virtuous, the brahmins generally give preference to the uneducated man. Therefore the standard of distinction between *Vaṇṇa* and *Vaṇṇa* depends on purity and goodness.

The *Madhura* (*Majjhima*) and the *Ambaṭṭha* (*Dīgha*) *suttas* deal with the same subject. The importance of this *sutta* lies in its allusions to Yonakamboja region where the caste-system of the brahmins did not prevail.

In the *Ghoṭamukha Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 157-63) Udena, a revered Buddhist monk, convinces Ghoṭamukha[97] of the inefficiency of self-torture. The Kandaraka Sutta of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* also deals with the same subject.

In the *Caṅkī Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 164-77) the Buddha condemns the brahmanical pretensions that the brahmins are superior to all other castes.

In the *Esukāri Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 177-84) the brahmin Esukāri considers birth as the criterion of division of people. But Buddha does not support it.

In the *Dhānañjani Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 184-96) we are told that the Brahmin Dhānañjani lacks in zeal for pious acts. Sāriputta convinces the brahmin of the merit of pious acts. This *sutta* furnishes us with an account of the various grades of gods, e.g., *Cātummahārājika, Tāvatiṃsa, Yama, Tusita, Nimmānarati,* and *Paranimmitavasavattī.*[98] After these there is the *Brahmaloka.*

97. Such a name as Ghoṭamukha occurs is the *Kāmasūtra* by Vatsyāyana. We are entitled on the authority of the Buddhist texts to maintain that Ghoṭamukha was one of the contemporaries of Gotama. He was a brahmin who naively denied virtuous life (*Natthi dhammiko paribbājako*).

98. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective' pp. 6-7.

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In the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, p. 196) the Lord expounds to the young brahmins, Vāseṭṭha and Bharadvāja, as to who is a real brahmin. This sutta recurs in the *Sutta Nipāta*[99] and forms the canonical source from which half the number of the verses of the Brāhmaṇavagga in the *Dhammapada* has been derived. The arguments in the *Vāseṭṭha sutta* are re-stated more effectually in the *Divyāvadāna*. The biological classification of living beings according to *liṅga* and *jāti* (genera and species) may be made and maintained on the ground of similarity or difference in bodily forms, habit and other characteristics but the application of biological test cannot be established that human beings belong to species more than one. As a matter of fact there is one species among men, all of them possessing common characteristics.[100] There are some moral, intellectual or occupational traits acquired or developed by different persons as they grow up in life but these distinctive traits cannot be predicated of persons because of their birth in a certain home and by the union of certain parents.[101]

In the *Subha Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 196-209) the Lord explains to the brahmin Subha the real union with Brahmā. In the opinion of the Buddha the best thing would be to judge every person whether a householder or an ascetic individually on his own merits.

In the *Saṅgārava Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 209-13) we are told that the young brahmin Saṅgārava hearing the exclamation of the brahmin lady Dhānañjanī in praise of the Buddha scolded her for paying respect to a shaveling or a recluse. Later on the young brahmin met the Buddha who, when asked by the brahmin, said that he discerned a doctrine and so had by insight won the goal and achieved perfection, recognising the foundations on which the higher life was based. It is interesting to notice that the Buddha in reply to Saṅgārava's question admitted that there were gods.

In the *Devadaha Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 214-28) the Budha characterises the doctrine of the Niganṭhas as fatuous. The Niganṭhas hold that whatever the individual experiences might be, all come from former actions. Hence, by expiation of former misdeeds and by not committing fresh misdeeds, nothing accrues for the future.

99. *Mahāvagga*, Sutta No. 9, P.T.S., pp. 115-23.
100. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 625—*ekaiva jātir lokeśmin sāmānyā na prithagvidhā.*
101. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 629-30.

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This *sutta* further points out that from the destruction of feeling all sufferings will be destroyed. Here *nijjiṇṇa* occurs in place of *nijjarā* which is one of the nine main terms (*navatattva*)[102] of Jainism. Buddha sharply criticises the ethical position of Mahāvīra as represented by his disciples after his death. This throws some light on the meaning of Mahāvīra's terse expression "Fools cannot annihilate works by works, the wise can annihilate works by abstention from works." (*na kammanā kamma khevaṃti bālā akammanā kamma khevaṃti dhīro—Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 12.15).

The sceptic Buddha says, "if it be true that living beings experience pleasure and pain as predetermined by actions of their past lives, then the Niganṭhas must have been all great sinners formerly in that they now undergo such painful austerities. Or if it be true that living beings experience pleasure and pain according as they are created by a god, then the Niganṭhas must have been created by a wicked god. Or if living beings be happy or miserable because of the species (*sangati*) to which they belong, then the Niganṭhas must have been of very low species, or if because of their mentality (*abhijāti*), then they must have been persons of the worst mental type.

In the *Pañcattaya Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 228-38)[103] the Buddha refers to the various schools of thought. The various schools of thought make various assertions about futurity. Some assert that the self is conscious after death while others deny this. Some hold the theory of annihilation of the existing creature while the others do not; Buddha does not support these speculations.

In the *Kinti Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 238-43) the Buddha admonishes the monks to school themselves in the higher lore, namely, *satipaṭṭhāna* (mindfulness), *bala* (five forces or potentialities), *indriya* (five-fold sphere of sense) and in unity and harmony without strife. If there be any quarrel between a monk and another on the *Abhidhamma*, if a monk be guilty of offence, everything should be settled amicably.

In the *Sāmagāma Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 243-51) the Buddha speaks on unity and concord. After the death of the Niganṭha Nāthaputta

102. Law, *Mahāvīra: His life and teachings*, pp. 69 and 83 for details.
103. Cf.—*Brahmajāla Sutta, Dīgha.* I; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, III, pp. 213 foll.

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there arose quarrels among the disciples. Ānanda knowing this fact referred the matter to the Master. The Master expounded six conciliatory things which when embraced and practised would lead to no strife among the disciples. This *sutta* throws some light on the way in which the wandering teachers spent their time.[104] This *sutta* is regarded as a Viṇaya tract on *Adhikaraṇasamatha*. It testifies to the fact that Mahāvīra[105] (Niganṭha Nāthaputta) predeceased Buddha by a few years.

In the *Sunakkhatta Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 252-61) Sunakkhatta enquired of the Buddha whether the monks professed all they had really won or were extravagant in their professions. The Buddha said, "If a monk is in full control of his six sense-organs to see in attachments the root of suffering, and therefore to detach himself and to find deliverance in removing attachments, such a monk cannot possibly either surrender his body or devote his thought to attachments. There are five sense-organs; visible shapes to be discerned by the eye, sounds to be discerned by the ear, odours to be discerned by the nostrils, tastes to be discerned by the tongue, and touch to be discerned by the body at large. All of them are delightful, pleasant, agreeable and attractive (*iṭṭhākantāmanāpā*)." It may be that an individual's heart is set on material things. He is to be known as a worldling. It may be that an individual's heart is set on permanence. He is to be known as the man free from wordly bondage. It may be that an individual's heart is set on the realm of naught. He is to be known as the man free from permanence. It may be that an individual's heart is set on neither perception nor non-perception. Such a man has thrown away the bonds of the realm of naught. He is to be known as the man free from the realm of naught. It may be that an individual's heart is set on supreme *nirvāṇa*. The Buddha says that the wound signifies six sense-organs within, ignorance is the poison; craving is the arrow; the probe is mind-

104. *Digha*, I, *Brahmajāla Sutta*, paragraph 18. See my *Historical Gleanings*, p. 13. The list of topics discussed by them is historically important as indicating the manner in which the wanderers gradually prepared the way for the subject of polity in India.

105. See my paper on *Mahāvīra the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains* (*Oswāla Navayuvaka*, Mahāvīra No. 1932); Cf. Pāṭika Sutta, *Dīgha*, III, Law, *Mahāvīra: his life and teachings*.

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fulness; the surgeon's knife is noble understanding and the leech is the truth-finder, elect and all-enlightened (*"Visadosa ti kho" avijjāy' etaṃ adhivacanaṃ. "Bhisakko sallakatto ti kho" "Tathāgatassa etaṃ adhivacanaṃ arahato sammāsambuddhassa."*).[106]

In the *Anañjasappāya Sutta* (*M.N.*, II, pp. 261-66) the Buddha speaks of what is real permanence. He also explains the several paths that lead to permanence, e.g., the subjugation of the pleasures of senses by developing the heart.

In the *Gaṇakamoggallāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 1-7) we have an important discussion between the Buddha and the brahmin mathematician Moggallāna. The discussion brings home the fact that the brahmanical training was a thoroughly graduated system (*anupubbasikkhā, anupubbakiriyā*). Although the Buddha claimed that the system as propounded by him also accepted the idea of graduation, the *sutta* makes it clear that graduation in the case of Buddhism was suggested as opportune.

It may be noted here that Brahmanic *āśrama* theory came to be formulated by Gosāla as a biological principle of evolution in its application to education.

In the *Gopakamoggallāna Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 7-15) it is said that there is not a single monk who in every respect and in every particular has acquired all the qualities possessed by the Buddha. The Lord has traced out a path and his disciples follow him in the path which has come down to them from him.

After the demise of the Buddha one of his disciples declared, "the norm (*dhamma*) is our refuge now" (*mayaṃ dhammapaṭisaraṇā*). It is clear therefore that in the absence of the Master the *dhamma* embodying all the tenets of the Master was to take his place.

The Buddha while staying at the Vaiśālian Mahāvana gave a discourse on ecstasy (*jhāna*) in various ways. The Master practised ecstasy or religious exercise productive of the highest spiritual advantage and was engaged in it. He blamed the blameworthy ecstasy and praised the praise-worthy ecstasy.

106. *Majjhima*, II, p. 260.

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In the *Mahāpuṇṇama Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 15-20) the question asked is—how does the view of personality (*sakkāya-diṭṭhi*) arise? The answer is that an uninstructed ordinary man, who has no vision of the Noble Ones, and is unversed and untrained in the doctrine of the Noble Ones, who has no vision of the Exalted Ones, and is unversed and untrained in the doctrine of the Exalted Ones, views form as self or self as possessing form or form in self or self in form. He does the same with feeling and perception, with the constituents and with consciousness. This view is not supported by the Buddha.

In the *Cūḷapuṇṇama Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 20-24) we read that the Buddha says that a bad man is bad in his nature, nurtured on bad, bad in the thoughts, speech, doings, views, resolves and in distribution of alms. He further says that a good man is good in his nature, nurtured on good, good in his thoughts, aims, speech, doings, views and in the distribution of alms. The monks rejoiced in what the Buddha had said.

In the *Anupada Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 25-29) the Buddha praised Sariputta whose learning and understanding were vast. He had gone through the complete course of training as laid down by the Master. He was consummate in rolling onwards the peerless wheel of the doctrine which the Truth-finder set a-rolling.

In the *Chabbisodhana Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 29-37) the Blessed One speaks of the sixfold scrutiny by which a monk is to know whether one is justified in saying that rebirth is no more; that he has lived the highest life. A monk should see by what manner of ken and vision one's heart has been absolutely delivered from the cankers with regard to the domain of vision, of hearing, of taste, of smell, of touch, and of apprehension.

In the *Sappurisa Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 37-45) the Lord informs a monk about the attitude of the good man and of the bad man.

In the *Sevitabba-Asevitabba Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 45-61) the Lord expounds what should be cultivated and what should not be cultivated. Behaviour in act, speech, and thought is not to be cultivated if thereby wrong dispositions wax apace while right dispositions wane, but it is to be cultivated if thereby wrong dispositions wane while right dispositions wax apace.

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In the *Bahudhātuka Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 61-67) the Lord admonishes the monks to train themselves to make them informed by study in diverse approaches.

In the *Isigili Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 68-71) the Buddha relates the names of those *Pacceka-Buddhas*[107] who had long been residents on the Mount Isigili, one of the five hills surrounding Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha.

In the *Mahācattārīsaka Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 71-78) the Lord expounds to the monks right concentration (*sammāsamādhi*). Right views rank first. The Buddha said thus, "*sammāsamādhi* or right concentration means the focussing of the heart with a sevenfold equipment of right views, right thoughts, right speech, right action, right living, right exertion and right mindfulness. The first and foremost are the right views which are twofold. There are right views which are accompanied by cankers and which are mixed up with good works and which lead to attachment. There are right views which are noble, freed from cankers, spiritual and included in the Path. Those right views which are accompanied by cankers are mixed up with good works and lead to attachment. Right views are called right views that are noble, freed from cankers, spiritual, and included in the path. Right effort belongs to one whose aim is to eschew wrong views and to foster right views. Such is the case with right mindfulness. If a man has really right views, right thoughts are operative; if he has really right thoughts, right speech is operative; if he has really right speech, right action is operative; if he has really right action, right living is operative; if he has really right living, right mindfulness is operative; if he has really right mindfulness, right knowledge is operative; if he has really right knowledge, right deliverance is effective. A monk under training has eight stages to go and an elect, ten. If he has right views, his wrong views are ended and for him are ended hosts of wrong and bad dispisitions which grow up in the train of wrong views. In case of one having right views, hosts of right dispositions march on to perfected development."

107. *Paccekabuddha* is an individual Buddha. He is inferior to the *Sammāsam-buddha*. He is not omniscient. He has acquired the knowledge necessary to attain *nirvāṇa* but he does not preach it to men.

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In the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 78-88) the Lord speaks on breathing exercises. The Buddha said thus, "a confraternity of monks, where no talking takes place and all talking is stilled, is worthy of oblations, gifts and homage and is the richest field in which to sow the seed of merit. Such is this confraternity of monks that a little thing given to it thereby becomes great and a great thing becomes greater still. Within this confraternity there are saints, who have lived the highest life, whose task is done, who have cast off their burden, won their weal, destroyed all bonds that bind them to ceaseless existence. Within this confraternity there are monks who by destroying the five bonds that bind men to the sensuous world, will pass away to appear spontaneously elsewhere, never to return to this world. Within this confraternity monks destroying three bonds and doing away with passion, hatred and delusion have become once-returners (*sotāpanna*) and on their last return to this world will put an end to evil. Monks on their destroying three bonds and being safe from evil are destained to find enlightenment. Monks in this congregation live in the practice of four earnest meditations, of the four exertions, of the four bases of magic power, of the five sense-faculties, of the five forces, of the seven factors of enlightenment and of the noble eightfold path. Within this congregation there are monks who live in the practice of cultivating mindfulness by breathing exercises. In mindfulness a monk inhales and exhales. In his contemplation of mental objects as an aggregation he dwells being ardent, conscious and mindful. This is how mindfulness in breathing is cultivated and developed."

In the *Kāyagatāsati Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 88-99) the Master deals with meditation on the body. How is mindfulness of the body cultivated and developed so as to abound in fruit and blessings? In reality like the Ānāpāna the *Kāyagatāsati Sutta* is only a sectional presentation of the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*.

In the *Samkhāruppatti Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 99-103) the Buddha expounds to the monks how confections (*saṃkhāras*) arise. A monk who is possessed of faith, morality, learning, sacrifice, and wisdom, cultivates thought and fixes his mind.

In the *Cūḷasuññāta Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 104-109) the Lord deals with true solitude.

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In the *Mahāsuññāta Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 109-118) true solitude has been explained by the Master to the Monks.

In the *Acchariyabhutadhamma Sutta*[108] (*M.N.*, III, pp. 118-124) Ānanda expounds fully the wonders and marvels of Truth-finder's nature.

The *Bakkula Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 124-28) deals with a saint's record. Bakkula said to Acela-Kassapa that during his 80 years of monkhood he did not commit any sin. He led a life of purity.

In the *Dantabhūmi Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 128-37) the Buddha speaks of discipline. He says it is impossible for one who lives in the lap of enjoyment and pleasure to know or see or realise what is to be known by renouncing worldliness. He should be under training if he likes to see what is to be attained by giving up worldliness.

In the *Bhūmīja Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 138-44) the Buddha says that right outlook is essential in order to win the fruits of the higher life.

In the *Anuruddha Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 144-52) the venerable Anuruddha explains to the carpenter, Pañcakaṅga, what is boundless deliverance, and what is vast deliverance of the heart. If a monk dwells with radiant thoughts of love pervading all the quarters of the world, the whole length and breadth of the world, above, below, around, everywhere — this is termed the heart's deliverance that is boundless. If the monk pervades and imbues a single tree with the idea of vastness, that is termed vast deliverance of the heart. Anuruddha then speaks on the four states of rebirth, among the *Parittābhā gods*, the *Appamānābha gods*, the *Sankiliṭṭhābhā gods*, and the *Parisuddhābhā gods*.

In the *Upakkilesu Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 152-62) we are told that once there was a strife among the Kosambian monks. The Buddha tried to settle the dispute, but he failed. He then retired elsewhere. He admonished Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila to do away with the blemishes which make the sign or indication of thought (*nimitta*) fade away.

108. See "The Nativity of the Buddha" by Chalmers dealing with the marvels and mysteries of the Buddha's nativity. This paper contains this *sutta* with Buddhaghosa's Commentary on it. Vide *JRAS.*, 1895.

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In the *Bāla-Paṇḍita Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 163-78) the Buddha speaks of men, wise and fool. The Buddha while dewelling at Sāvatthī in the Jetavana garden of Anāthapiṇḍika, addressed the monks thus, "there are three signs, marks and attributes of a fool. He thinks what he should not, he says what he should not, and he does what he should not. In three modes a fool experiences pain and anguish. If he is sitting in an assembly or on the street or at the cross-roads, then if talk turns on that sort of thing, the fool, should he be a murderer, or a thief or a liar, or should he indulge in strong drink, bethinks him that by nature he is just what they are discussing. This is the first mode. A fool sees how when a guilty robber is arrested, he is punished by the authorities in many ways, by flogging, etc. The fool bethinks himself that he has in himself all the qualities which entail such punishment of guilt by the authorities and that if they only knew him they would punish him too in the same way. This is the second mode. A fool is upon his bench or bed or is lying on the ground, the sense of his wrong doing in act, speech, and thought hangs round him, rests on him and envelopes him. A fool thinks himself how while he has not done what is good or right, he has done what is bad and cruel and that his hereafter will tally therewith. Consequently mourning and distress of heart is his, he laments and beats his breast. This is the third mode."

This *sutta* defines a fool and a wise person and contrasts the results of the action of the former with those of the latter. A fool cherishes evil thoughts, utters an evil speech and does an evil act. He is certainly wicked as he causes harm to life, takes what is not his own, commits adultery, indulges in lying speech, and is addicted to the use of intoxicants. A wise person is pious, virtuous and sober. He does no harm to others. He cherishes good thoughts, utters a good speech and does good deeds. This *sutta* also mentions different kinds of punishment for a fool on account of his misdeeds as well as different animal births and social grades of such untouchables among men as *nesādas, caṇḍālas, pukkusas, rathakāras,*[109] etc. It also mentions various rewards for good deeds

109. These were lower *varṇas*. They were low caste people. (*Jātaka*, I, p. 146). *Nesādas* and *Rathakāras* were nodoubt aboriginal tribesmes who were hereditary craftsmen. The *caṇḍālas* had their own manner of speech and their own language (Vide Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, pp. 24-25).

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done by good men on earth and tells us how a happy destiny follows after death, entitling him to an existence in different heavens.

This *sutta* forms a prose background of the *Bālavagga* and the *Paṇḍitavagga* of the *Dhammapada* (*P.T.S.*, pp. 9-11; 11-13; Cf. Beal, *Dhammapada*, pp. 77-78, 79).

In the *Devadūta Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 178-87) the Lord speaks of heaven's warning messengers. The five warning messengers are the following: (1) the development of thinking faculty with the age; (2) appearance of the signs of old age, decay, and decreptitude; (3) periodical occurrence of diseases; (4) various forms of punishment meted out by the king's order to those found guilty of crimes; and (5) ghastly sight of dead bodies undergoing the process of decomposition in a charnel field. King Yama punishes those who are reported to do evil in the world. Yama is represented here as the Lord of the nether world whose business it is to sit in judgment over the actions of different sinners who are brought to his court by his emissaries.

The persons have a happy destiny after death if they are endowed with good conduct as regards the body, the speech and the mind, if they speak in praise of the elect, if their views are well-directed, and if they act according to those views. Those persons must have an unhappy destiny after death if they are endowed with bad conduct as regards the body, speech and mind, if they speak in dispraise of the elect, if their views are ill-directed and if they act according to those views.[110]

In the *Bhaddekaratta Sutta*, *Ānanda-Bhaddekaratta Sutta*, *Mahākaccāna- Bhaddegaratta Sutta*, and *Lomasakaṅgiya-Bhaddekaratta Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 187-202) the Lord lays the whole emphasis on not having much to do with the past and the future but on that which concerns oneself mainly with what is immediately present.

In the *Cūḷa* and *Mahākammavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 202-15) we find the young brahmin Subha Todeyyaputta asking the Buddha why among human beings there are high and low. The Lord says that their deeds are their possessions and heritage,

110. *Aṅguttara*. V, 270.

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their parents, their kindred, and their refuge, and that it is their deeds which divide the beings into high and low.[111]

The *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga Sutta* is highly important as formulating in the clearest possible terms the doctrine of *karma*,[112] which is substantially the same as that in the *Brihadāraṇyaka-upanishad*.

The wisdom and folly of Samiddhi formed the argument of Buddha's longer exposition of the subject of *kamma*, which is termed the *mahākammavibhaṅga* in contradistinction to his shorter exposition the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga* addressed to a young scholar named Subha. It can be thus established that the *mahākammavibhaṅga* was the sutta basis of the Abhidhamma exposition of the *sikkhāpadavibhaṅga* which is incorporated in the second book of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka* (*Vibhaṅga, P.T.S.*, pp. 285-292). But as a matter of fact both these expositions have left their stamp on subsequent exegetical literature as is evidenced by the *Nettipakaraṇa* (p. 182) and *Atthasālinī* (pp. 64 ff.). After a close examination it appears that Buddhaghosa's exposition of *kamma* in his *Atthasālinī* is really the meeting place of both.

In the *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 215-22) we have an exposition of the six spheres of sense more or less of the *Abhidhamma* type. Indeed this *sutta* is the sutta counterpart of the Abhidhamma exposition of *āyatanas* in the *Vibhaṅga*.[113]

In the *Uddesavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 223-29) Mahākaccāna says that an almsman's thinking should always be so conducted that, as he thinks, his mind may not either be externally diffused and dissipated or be internally set, and that through non-dependence he may be imperturbed, so that, with his mind thus secure, birth, old age and death and the arising of all ill do not happen.

In the *Araṇavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 230-37) the Lord explains to the monks the detailed exposition of calm. A man

111. *Kammassakā, māṇava, sattā kammadāyādā kammayonī, kammabandhu, kammapaṭisaraṇā. Kammam satte vibhajati yadidam hinappaṇitatāyāti.*

112. Law, *Karma*, published in the *Cultural Heritage of India* by Ramakrishna Institute of Culture, pp. 537-46.

113. *Vibhaṅga*. P.T.S., pp. 71-72.

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should neither give himself over to pleasures of senses nor give himself over to self-mortification. He should follow the Noble Eightfold Path for complete deliverance. This *sutta* is essentially a philosophical discourse as to the judicious use of the local terms signifying distinct objects.

In the *Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta*, (*M.N.*, III, pp. 237-47) the Buddha expounds to the revered Pakkusāti, the six elements, earth, water, fire, air, space (*ākāsa*) and consciousness. This forms the suttanta counterpart of the *Abhidamma* exposition of *dhātus* or elements in the *Vibhaṅga*.[114]

The *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta*[115] (*M.N.*, III, pp. 248-52) corresponding to the *Saccaniddesa* in the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* expounds fully the four Noble Truths[116] and the Noble eightfold Path. *Vibhaṅga* is the same Buddhist term as *niddesa*. The *Vibhaṅgasuttas* developed and are contained in the five *nikāyas*, i.e., in the *Suttapiṭaka* representing the earlier stage or form of exegesis in the 2nd book of the *Abhidammapiṭaka* called the *Vibhaṅga*.

The Buddha said to the monks thus, "'It was here in this very deer-park at Benares that the truth-finder, elect, all-enlightened set a-rolling the supreme wheel of the doctrine, announcing the four noble truths, teaching, declaring, and establishing those truths with their unfolding exposition and manifestation. The four noble truths are the announcement, teaching, manifestation, esta-

114. *Vibhaṅga*, P.T.S., pp. 82 ff.

115. The *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya* consists of the two parts. The first part deals with the four *satipaṭṭhānas* while the second part deals with the four Aryan Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* and the *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta* together contain what has been set forth in the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Suttanta*. In the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta* only the four *satipaṭṭhānas* have been explained while the *Saccavibhaṅga Sutta* explains only the four Aryan Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path.

116. Cf. *Vlbhaṅga*, PTS., Ed., pp. 99 ff. *Cattāri ariyasaccāni*, e.g., *dukkha. dukkhasamudaya, dukkhanirodha* and *dukkhanirodhagaminipaṭipada; ariya aṭṭhaṅgikamagga*, e.g.. *sammādiṭṭhi, sammāsamkappo, sammāvāca, sammākammanto, sammājīva, sammāvāyāma, sammāsati*, and *sammāsamādhi*, i.e., right view, right determination, right speech, right action, right living, right exertion, right recollection and right meditation.

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blishment, unfolding, exposition, etc. of the noble truth of suffering, of its origin, of its cessation and of the path leading to its cessation. Follow Sāriputta and Moggallāna and be guided by them; they are wise helpers unto their fellows in the higher life. Like a mother is Sāriputta, Moggallāna is like a child's wet-nurse, Sāriputta trains in the fruit of conversion, Moggallāna trains in the highest good. Sāriputta is able to announce, teach and manifest the four noble truths in their details.[117]

It is interesting to note that *sukha* (pleasure) and *dukkha* (pain) are conceived as two distinct principles, one of attraction, integration or concord and the other of repulsion, disintegration or discord. *Sukha* is taken to be the principle of harmony and *dukkha* that of discord. In Buddhism *dukkha* is taken in a most comprehensive sense so as to include in it danger, disease, waste, and all that constitutes the basis or the cause of suffering. *Roga* or disease, which is an instance of *dukkha*, is defined as that condition of the self, physical self, when the different organs do not function together in harmony and which are attended with a sense of uneasiness. Ārogya or health, the oppopsite of disease, is defined as that condition of the self when all the organs function together in harmony and are attended with a sense of ease. Thus we see that the problem of *dukkha* is essentially rooted in the feeling of discord or disparity. Birth, decay, or death is not in itself *dukkha* or suffering. These are only a few contingencies in human experience which upset the expectations of men. From the psychological point of view *dukkha* is a *vedanā* or feeling which is felt by the mind either in respect of the body or in respect of itself, and as a feeling it is conditioned by certain circumstances. In the absence of these circumstances, there is no possibility of its occurrence. Whether a person is affected by *dukkha* or not, depends on the view he takes of things. If the course of common reality is this that being once in life one cannot escape either decay or death, and, if the process of decay sets

117. In the Teravāda and Sarvāstivāda doctrines the four noble truths are regarded as the quintessence of Buddhism as propounded by the Master himself. All that was uttered by the Buddha from the day of his enlightenment to that of his passing away, all that he propounded in the form of a *sutta* or a *geyya*, or a *vyākaraṇa*, or a *gāthā*, or an *uḍāna*, all fall within the scope of four noble truths (Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. IV).

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in or death actually takes place, there is no reason why that person should be subject to *dukkha* by trying to undo what cannot be undone. Thus we see that *dukkha* is based on the misconstruction of the law of things (*Dhammatā*) or the way of happening in life. If the order of things cannot be changed, two courses are open to individuals to escape from *dukkha*: (1) to view and accept the order as it is, and (2) to enquire if there is any state of consciousness, on the attainment of which, an individual is no longer affected by the vicissitudes of life. The Buddhist answer to this enquiry is this that there is such a state of consciousness. In this state consciousness becomes unrelated with anything which is mundane or mental. To reach this state is to be out of touch with the object of every description.

Dukkha is nowhere postulated as a permanent feature of reality. It is entertained only as a possible contingency in life as it is generally lived. *Nirodha* representing the free and pure state of consciousness is posited as the ultimate nature of reality. The procedure of thought which has been followed does not admit of the consideration of the question whether Buddhism is pessimism or optimism. A particular Buddhist sect is said to have taken up a position leading to a pessimistic construction of existence (*sabbe samkhārā dukkhā*) but this was not universally accepted by the Buddhist.

The Buddha laid much stress on four noble truths: (1) suffering (*dukkha*), (2) origin of suffering (*dukkhasamudaya*), (3) cessation of suffering (*dukkhanirodha*) and (4) the path leading to the cessation of suffering (*dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā*). The five aggregates of attachment constitute suffering[118]—not the aggregates in themselves but only when they are taken hold of as one's own under the influence of craving. Suffering is undoubtedly a painful feeling which arises from getting what one does not desire to get and not getting what one desires to get, that is, from disappointment. Sorrow also comes from the beloved. There is neither sorrow nor fear for one who has no beloved one.[119] From affection, lust, and desire, sorrow also arises. The question

118. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 184-91; *Ibid.*, III, pp. 248-52; *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, II, pp. 92 foll.
119. *Dhammapada*, P.T.S., p. 32.

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of suffering is inwardly bound up with a man's desire in regard to certain things. All such things in connection with which his desire comes into play are summed up by the five aggregates of attachment.

The origin of suffering lies in craving which is potent for rebirth accompanied by lust and self-indulgence seeking satisfaction everywhere in this world. A mortal has three kinds of craving: (1) the craving for pleasures of the senses (2) the craving for becoming and (3) the craving for not-becoming.

The cessation of suffering consists in utter attenuation of that very craving. Craving in its varying forms and various aspects arises in connection with the senses and their respective objects. Where the senses, external and internal, do not come into relation with their objects, craving finds no outlet for self-expression. *Nirodha* which is nothing but cessation without any possibility of rebirth is, therefore, that state of the self in which consciousness transcends the sphere of senses and their objects. The noble eightfold path leads to the cessation of suffering.

According to the *Dhammapada* there is happiness in leading a life being free from enmity among the enemies. There is happiness in leading a life being free from diseases among the diseased. We live happily being free from greed among the greedy; there is happiness for those who have nothing in this world as their own.[120] He who has given up victory and defeat is happy. There is no fire like passion, there is no losing thread like hatred, there is no pain like this body, there is no happiness higher than the state of *nirvāṇa* which is nothing but the extinction of desire. There is no happiness higher than tranquillity. Avarice is the worst of diseases. *Nirvāṇa* is the highest happiness (*nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ*).[121] Health is the greatest gain, contentment is the best wealth, trust is the best of relationships, but *nirvāṇa* is the highest happiness.[122] He is happy who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity and who is free from fear and sin. Happiness lies in the association with the elect and in the sight of them.

120. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 9917.
121. Cf. *Majjhima*, I, 508. Cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 203.
122. *Dhammapada, Sukhavagga*, P.T.S., pp. 30-31.

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It is always painful to see the fools. He who associates with the fools suffers. It is always painful to have the company of the fools. An association with the wise brings happiness. Therefore one should follow the wise, the intelligent, the learned, the enduring, the dutiful and the elect.

The Jains like the Buddhists believe that *hiṃsā* or life-slaughter is the greatest sin. As a man kills a *jīva,* so will he be killed in hell. Dishonesty, covetousness, conceit, avarice, attachment, hatred, quarrelsomeness, slander, fault-finding and lack of self-control are considered as sins in Jainism, which lead people to suffer. *Mokṣa*, according to the Jains, is the highest happiness. One who has attained *mokṣa* is called a *siddha* or a perfected one. A *siddha* is a being self-controlled without caste, unaffected by smell, without the sense of taste, without feeling, without form, without hunger, without pain, without sorrow, without joy, without birth, without old age, without death, without body, without *karma,* enjoying an endless and unbroken tranquillity because of the complete waning out of all causes of *dukkha*[123] or suffering.

By performing meritorious deeds on earth people obtain pleasures and comforts. By giving a seat one gets a very high position; by bestowing food one secures health and wealth; by the gift of clothes one acquires good complexion and property; the gift of conveyance procures for the giver special happiness and that of lights begets powers of vision and by giving a house one gets all sorts of property.

For the aspirant after the highest stage of *arahatta* and *nibbāna, puṇṇa* (merit) *pāpa* (demerit) are equally represensible. The highest of the pleasures that the Buddhist heavens bestow as we find in the *Vimānavatthu* and its commentary has a limit: it is not everlasting. When the fruits of a good deed are consumed, the man has again to come down to earth to be buffetted by the waves of *puṇṇa* and *pāpa.* They can never bring about a final release from evil, and hence the experiences in heaven, though pleasurable, are an evil to be guarded against—the more so on account of their luring attractiveness.

123. E. H. Brewster, *Dukkha and Sukha* in my *Buddhistic Studies,* pp. 284-328 is worth reading.

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We may note here that neither in the Buddhist nor in the Brahmanical system, and in fact in no Indian religious system, is there any conception of eternal, never-ending suffering in hell like the Christian or rather the Hebrew eschatological conception of Gehenna, the abode of the wicked, where they suffer endless torments by fire? Some of the Christian fathers hold that ultimately there would be an end to the punishment of the most wicked; but this is not the idea of either the early or the mediaeval Church, and even Protestant Divines stick to the idea of the never-ending punishment of the damned. This is quite foreign to the Indian conception, according to which, every act, either good or bad, produces happiness or suffering only for a limited period, though the period may be considerably long according to the nature of the deed.

In the *Dakkhiṇavibhaṅga Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 253-57) the Lord gives an analysis of alms giving. Donations to individuals are ranked in fourteen grades, e.g., a Truth-finder, *Arahat*, All-Enlightened, *Pacceka-Buddha*,[124] Truth-finder's *arahat* disciples, one on the way to become a perfected saint (elect), one who will never be reborn on earth, and so on.

The *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga*, the *Araṇavibhaṅga*, the *Dhātuvibhaṅga* and the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga* have found their proper places in the *Abhidhamma* literature supplemented by higher expositions. They have also found their way into the later commentaries including the works of Buddhaghosa. We have an exposition of the four noble truths from the Thera Sāriputta, the *saccavibhaṅga* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 248-52), which has found its place in the *Abhidhamma-piṭaka* where it has been supplemented by a higher exposition (*abhidhammabhājaniya*). Sāriputta's expositions contain many stock passages or the older disconnected materials with which the whole of the Piṭaka literature was built up. This piece of independent commentary has been tacked on to the *Satipaṭṭhānasutta*, itself a commentary and it furnishes a point of distinction between the *Satipaṭṭhānasutta* of the *Majjhima* and the *Mahāsatipaṭṭhanasutta* of the *Dīgha*.

124. It means individual Buddha. The stage of a *paccekabuddha* is attained by one who has destroyed not only all the fundamental *kilesas* or sins but also a part of *upakilesas* or the flavours of habit performed by *kilesa* or sin (Yamakama, *Systems of Buddhistic thought*, p. 89).

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In the *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 258-63) we are told that when Anāthapiṇḍika became seriously ill, he sent a man to go in his name to the Lord and the venerable Sāriputta, and bowing at their feet, to say how ill he was and how he bowed his head at the feet of the Lord and the venerable Sāriputta. Sāriputta accompanied by Ānanda came to Anāthapiṇḍika's house. Sāriputta instructed the householder not to be a creature of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and mind. He should not also be a creature of the elements such as earth, water, fire, wind, space and consciousness. He should not be a creature of the confections, of the realm of infinity of space, of the realm of naught, and of the realm of neither perception nor non-perception. The exhortation was over, Sāriputta[125] and Ānanda rose up and departed; nor had they gone long when the householder Anāthapiṇḍaka, at his body's dissolution after death, passed away to the Tusita heaven.

The *Channovādo Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 263-66) deals with Channa's suicide. Channa became seriously ill and was bent on committing suicide. Sāriputta exhorted him not to do so. But Channa did not listen to Sāriputta's exhortation and used the knife on himself.

In the *Puṇṇovāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 267-70) Puṇṇa asked the Buddha how having listened to the Lord's doctrine, he should live alone and aloof, strenuous and purged of self. The Lord gave counsel to Puṇṇa.[126]

The *Nandakovāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 270-77) deals with Nandaka's homily to nuns. Nandaka preaches to them on the impermanency of sight, forms and six groups of perception.

In the *Cūḷarāhulovāda Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 277-80) the Lord admonishes Rāhula, who is ripe in the qualities which mature into deliverance, in order to school him in the eradication of the cankers. He speaks of transitoriness of things material.

125. A leading and eloquent pupil of the school of Sañjaya, the dialectician. Among debaters Sāriputta was eminent and could get the better in any argument (*Gotama the Man*, p. 109).

126. He was a man of iron will, but, wilful, he willed to go his own way. He understood the real object of the Jhāna-musing. More than most men he dwelt 'lokuttara', beyond this world (*Gotama the Man*, p. 113).

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In the *Chachakka Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 280-87) the Lord explains to the monks the six senses—six internal senses (senses of hearing, sight, smell, taste, touch, and mind), six external sense-objects (forms, sounds, odours, savours, touch, mental objects), six groups of perceptions (sight and forms, hearing and sounds, smell and odours, taste and savours, touch and tangible objects, mind and mental objects) and six groups of cravings.

In the *Mahāsaḷayatanika Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 287-90) the Blessed One instructs the monks in the import of the six great domains of sense (the sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the sense of smelling, the sense of taste, the sense of touch, and the sense of comprehending).

In the *Nagaravindeyya Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 290-93) we are told that once the Lord went to the brahmin village of Nagaravinda in Kosala. The brahmins of Nagaravinda went to the Lord who spoke on the types of recluses and brahmins who should or should not receive honour, reverence and devotion. The Lord said that those recluses and brahmins should get honour who had shed all lust in connection with the six domains of sense. The Lord spoke to them thus, "if the wanderers of other schools were to ask you what types of recluses and brahmins should not receive honour, devotion and worship, you should answer them that they should not be shown to recluses and brahmins, who in connection with visible forms and the sense objects of the other five senses, have not shed all lust, hatred and folly and having hearts not yet tranquil, sometimes walk righteously and sometimes unrighteously in body, speech, and mind. What is the reason? The reason is this. It may be said that we ourselves also behave just the same and fail to see a higher righteousness in these men; therefore we ought not to show such recluses and brahmins honour, reverence, devotion and worship. This should be your answer to the enquiry from wanderers of other schools. If the said wanderers ask you what attributes and results in such recluses and brahmins lead you to say that they are either void of passion or void of hatred or void of folly. Those revered men live in remote solitudes where there are no forms to be seen to excite their admiration by familiar occurrence. This should be your answer to this enquiry from the wanderers of other schools." The brahmin house-holders of Nagaravinda admitted that the Buddha had made

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his doctrine clear and the Master was requested to accept them as his disciples.

In the *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 293-97) the Master speaks of the perils of the daily round. Four right recollections, four right meditations, four means of obtaining magical power, five senses, five potentialities, seven objects of supreme knowledge, and the noble eightfold path should be developed. By realising knowledge and emancipation one should live in joy and bliss. One must constantly study to observe purity in collecting alms.

In the *Indriyabhāvanā Sutta* (*M.N.*, III, pp. 298-302) the Lord spaks on the culture of faculties. The brahmanical culture of the faculties was according to him faulty. It is when a man neither sees forms with his eyes nor hears sounds with his ears. But according to the rule of the Noble it is when a monk is indifferent to something agreeable or disagreeable which results either from his seeing forms with the eyes or from his hearing sounds with the ears. The excellent development of sense-faculties in the discipline of the elect has been taught in this *sutta*. It has also been taught how an almsman under training comes to enter the true path and how the development of sense-faculties arises.

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MEDIEVAL PERIOD

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Delhi in Pre-Muslim Times

BY

A. D. PUSALKER

"A large extent of land between the Delhi and Ajmer gates of modern Delhi, about 16 miles in length, formed at different times the site of old Delhi, which shifted from time to time according to whims and caprices of different monarchs."[1] Delhi enjoys the unenviable reputation of being the graveyard of empires, a city of frustration. India today, however, is no longer an empire but a democratic republic with no territorial ambitions and with a message of peace and good will to the whole world. Delhi will, no doubt, continue to be the capital of India for a long time to come.

"Protected by the ridge and the river, situated on the main trade route between two important river systems, it was marked for the commercial and political pre-eminence which it early attained."[2] Delhi claims a very hoary antiquity. Ancient Indraprastha was built on the banks of the Yamunā near the site of the present Delhi, though its exact position cannot be determined. Tradition associates it with Indarpat and the Muslim fort of Purana Qila. Indraprastha or Indarpat, which thus was the ancient name of Delhi, was the famous city constructed for the Pāṇḍavas by the divine architect Tvashṭṛi at Indra's command, in which Maya, the Asura architect, erected the celebrated Mayasabhā. Indraprastha, also known as Khāṇḍava-prastha, formed part of the extensive Khāṇḍava-vana.[3] The *Kālikā-purāṇa* carries us far into the dim past and speaks of the foundation of the Khāṇḍava-nagarī (or Khāṇḍava-purī) and gives its subsequent account up to the time of the Pāṇḍavas.

1. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 78.
2. Sen, *Delhi and its Monuments*, p. 1.
3. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

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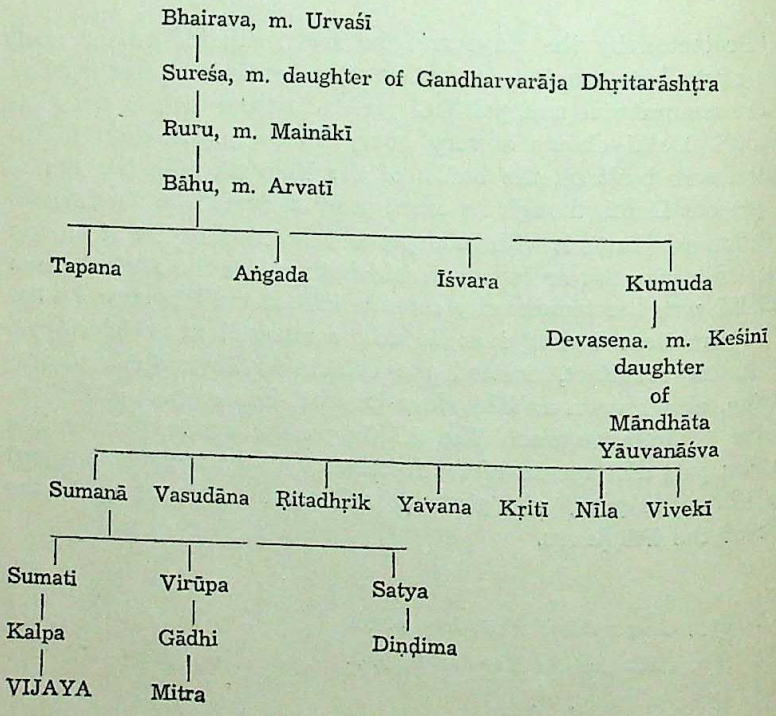
According to the *Kālikā-purāṇa*,[4] king Sudarśana of the lunar dynasty, whose genealogy has not been given, cleared the Khāṇḍava-vana, which was not far from the Himālayas, and driving away the fierce lions, tigers, etc., which haunted it, founded the splendid Khāṇḍava-nagarī (o-purī), one hundred yojanas in length and thirty yojanas in breadth, with several mansions, parks and gardens, and lakes. He dug the earth, and made it level after cutting down the trees. He brought goddess Khāṇḍavi-devī and established her in the city. The region surrounding the city was known as Khāṇḍava-prastha, which formed part of the huge Khāṇḍava-vana. Sudarśana conquered numerous kings and exacted tributes from them.

King Vijaya, born in the Bhairava-vamsa of Vāranāṣī, ninth in descent from Bhairava,[5] a prominent Śivagaṇa, formed an alli-

4. XVII. 45-57.

5. The genealogy of the Bhairava-vaṁśa, as given in the *Kālikā-purāṇa* up to Vijaya, is as under:—



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ance with several rulers, invested the city of king Sudarśana and killed him after a fierce battle. At Indra's behest, Vijaya left the city along with his subjects and proceeded to Vārāṇasī. The great city was thereafter transformed into a forest in no time.[6] The forest became deserted in course of time as Takshaka stayed there with his retinue at Indra's desire.[7]

In the 28th Dvāpara-yuga, Agni, in the form of a Brāhmaṇa asked for a boon from Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava hero, and after the latter agreed, revealed himself.[8] He wanted to devour the Khāṇḍava-vana full of birds, beasts, and demons in order to remove his disease, and wanted Arjuna to help him as Indra was opposed to him. Arjuna, with the help of Kṛishṇa burnt the whole forest for Agni, which, as already stated, was created by Vijaya of Bhairava-kula.[9] Being pleased, Agni gave Arjuna a divine chariot with the Hanūmat banner, obtained from Varuṇa, the famous bow Gāṇḍiva, and two inexhaustible quivers.

Elsewhere it is stated that due to continuous eating of oblations at the long sacrificial sessions of Śvetaki running for twelve years, Agni suffered from indigestion and at Brahmā's suggestion started to consume the Khāṇḍava forest. Indra, however, showered rains several times and foiled Agni's attempt to burn the forest. At Brahmā's suggestion again Agni approached Kṛishṇa, the Yādava hero, and Arjuna, the Pāṇḍava hero, for help. As they both lacked war material Agni supplied Arjuna with a divine chariot, bow and quivers (as stated in the account from the *Kālikā-purāṇa*, given above, while to Krishṇa, he gave the discus Sudarśana and the mace Kaumodakī. Agni started burning the Khāṇḍava forest with the help of Kṛishna and Arjuna; but Indra again poured down rains. Krishṇa and Arjuna defeated Indra. Agni's indigestion vanished after he consumed the forest for six (ten, fifteen, twenty twenty-one) days killing all creatures.[10] Only Takshaka's son Aśvasena, the demon Maya, and four sons of the sage Mandapāla

6. XCII, 1-43; 58-140.
7. XCII, 42.
8. XCII, 141-154.
9. XCII, 42.
10. *Mahābhārata* (Cr. Ed.), I. 214-219; (K) 249. 19 ff; and other accounts.

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survived the conflagration. Takshaka was saved as he was away in Kurukshetra.[11]

Yudhishṭhira as the ruler of his share of the Kuru kingdom ruled from Indraprastha and performed his Rājasūya there. After the Bhārata war Yudhishṭhira made Hastināpura his capital and Indraprastha fell on bad days. It is likely that Dhṛitarāshṭra's sole surviving son was installed at Indraprastha as a deputy.[12] After the fratricidal strife among the Yādavas resulting in their ruin, Arjuna established two Yādava principalities at Marttikāvata (in the Abu region) and on the Sarasvatī, and brought the bulk of the people to Indraprastha, placing Vajra, the surviving Vṛishṇi prince, as king over them.[13]

From the references to the names of Kuru princes connected with Indraprastha in the later Vedic literature and in the Jātakas, it has been concluded that the kingdom of Indraprastha (Indapatta) continued to be separate from that of Hastināpura and that it continued long after the destruction of Hastināpura and the removal of the main line of the Kuru kings to Kausambi.[14] Some, however, maintain that the principalities on the Sarasvatī and at Indraprastha disappeared soon after the time of Janamejaya due to Nāga aggression, and Hastināpura alone remained the outpost of the kingdom of North India till its desertion on account of floods when the capital was removed to Kauśāmbī.[15] It is, however, extremely doubtful whether Indraprastha had a continuous dynasty; the rulers mentioned in the later Vedic literature and in the Jātakas were possibly sporadic.

Indraprastha was thrown into obscurity for a long period after the days of the Pāṇḍavas. It seems to have been an unknown place during the Mauryan period as it is not mentioned by Megasthenes nor do we find any Aśokan pillars there as during those days it was far from the main route of transport where usually the emperor erected his pillars. During the period of the Mauryas

11. *Mbh* (Cr. Ed.), I. 219. 13; 40.
12. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
13. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 284.
14. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th Ed., pp. 46, 133 ff.
15. Cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

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and the Guptas a successful monarch named Chandra, whose identity is uncertain but who is generally identified with Chandragupta II Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty, erected the famous iron pillar in the vicinity of Indraprastha on the Vishṇupada hill near the present village of Mehrauli, indicating that the place was considered to be of some importance in those days.

We come across the name of Delhi (Dhillikā, Dillīpura) about the eleventh century A.D. According to Chand Bardoi Delhi of the Tomaras and Chauhans was called Yoginīpura.[16] Old Hindu city of Delhi, which was the capital of Anaṅgapāla and his descendants and of Vigraharāja and Pṛithvirāja, was situated at a distance of five miles from Indarpat, and contained the famous iron pillar. The foundation and name of Delhi have been variously interpreted by different scholars. According to Cunningham, Delhi was founded by Rājā Dilu, a Maurya ruler, who gave his name to Delhi, and was identical with Ptolemy's Daidalar.[17] The tradition ascribing the foundation of Delhi to Rājā Dilīpa, an ancestor of Rāma, who preceded the Pāṇḍavas by several generations, is clearly an anachronism because Delhi is much later than Indraprastha of the Paṇḍavas. The most popular tradition, adopted by Ferishta, which Cunningham accepts as genuine, states that Delhi was founded by Rājā Dilu or Dhilu, said to have been deposed by the Śakas.[18] Some traditions connect the erection of the pillar and the foundation of the city with king Bilan Deo or Anaṅgapāla, founder of the Tomaras, who flourished in the eighth century. The king wanted to test the veracity of the assurances of his priests that the foot of the pillar had gone too deep under the earth and rested on the hoods of Vāsuki so that it was immovable and that his dynasty would remain as long as the pillar stood; and hence ordered the pillar to be dug up to see if it was really so, when he found its foot wet with Vāsuki's blood. The pillar was raised again but could not be fixed as firmly and still remained loose (*ḍhilā*) in the ground despite efforts, which is explained as the origin of the name Delhi (*ḍhili*).[19] Some accounts associate Pṛithvīrāja Chauhan with

16. Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
17. *Punjab District Gazetteer*, V, A, p. 21.
18. *Loc. cit.*
19. *Op. cit.*, p. 22; Fanshawe, *Delhi, Past and Present*, p. 236 f.

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the erection of the pillar and it is stated to be resting on the hoods of Śesha instead of Vāsuki.

Bhoja, the celebrated Gurjara Pratīhāra emperor of Kanauj, is said to have left an inscription near the Old Fort, but it has not been traced so far. According to tradition, Delhi was deserted for 792 years and the iron pillar, made in the fourth or fifth century A.D. was removed to Delhi only in A.D. 1052 when a Tomara chief brought it probably from Mathurā.[20] Cunningham puts the foundation of the Tomaras to A.D. 736. The non-mention of Delhi by Al-Biruni, who has written about several notable places, indicates that either he did not know of Delhi or found the place of minor importance. That the place did not occupy a prominent place is also confirmed by the fact that Mahmud of Ghazna did not consider it worth his raids nor has his court historian noticed it.

Anaṅgapāla had to leave Kanauj after it was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazna. The inscription dated Saṁvat 1109 (A.D. 1052-3) on the iron pillar, referred to above, records that Delhi was peopled by Anaṅgapāla (II) who rebuilt and adorned the city and erected a massive fort, Lal Kot, of which remains are still believed to exist near the Qutb. Surajkund, which traditions associate with Anaṅgapāla (I), suggests the possibility of an earlier Tomara settlement round about the place. After about a century, Delhi was conquered by Chāhamāna Vigraharāja IV from the Tomaras. Pṛithvīrāja, the nephew of the conqueror, succeeded him. He strengthened the Lal Kot. Prithvīrāja was the last Hindu ruler of Delhi, and was defeated and killed by Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghūrī in the battle of Tilauri in A.D. 1193, and Qutb-ud-dīn, his general, became the ruler of Delhi. These changes of fortune have been expressed in the following couplet:

Pahle Dilli Tuwar, piche Chauhan,
Aur piche, Moghal Pathan.[21]

20. *Punjab District Gazetteer*, V, A, p. 21.
21. Fanshawe, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

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The Mughals and the Afghans

BY

H. N. SINHA, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

The fifteenth century in India "is a time of unparalleled confusion, an irrational formless epoch lacking alike the elements of coherence and stability."[1] Such an estimate would lead us to believe that the century was characterized by bloody wars, ruthless conquests, universal plunder, unmitigated anarchy, decay and destruction of the peaceful arts of life, atomic unconcern, and political dissipation. It is hardly a true picture of the times. The fifteenth century witnessed a regrouping of social elements, rise of new states, and revival of new traditions. It was a century of intense activities, rich in variety and content and all contributing eventually to peace and progress. Before the first quarter of the century was over, a number of states had arisen in Hindustan and the Deccan. There was not a single central authority in India no doubt, but that was not a very unusual phenomenon. The geographical controls militated against such a possibility in the days when facilities for communication were very crude. Between the death of Allauddin Khilji and of Mohammad-bin-Tughlak only thirtyfive years intervene and when it is realised that exactly twenty years after the former event started that series of rebellions which shattered the stability of the empire, one can understand the nature of the central authority that obtained in India under the Khiljis and the Tughlaks. Indeed the Muslims were at this time trying to understand the nature of geographical controls over their political supremacy in India. Mohammad-bin-Tughlak who understood it full well, tried to act up to it, but failed. No wonder that India following her time-honoured traditions and physical configuration broke up into a congeries of states, when powerful

1. An Empire Builder of the 16th century.

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personalities had vanished. These states prospered throughout the century and laid the foundations of progress for the more prosperous and glorious Mughal empire. Each one of them besides being the focus of political life, evolved, as the century advanced, multiple forms of national self-expression. Art, architecture, music, poetry, painting to name only the most important ones of the finer pursuits of life, flourished under the liberal patronage of the local kings. With the evolution of the Urdu language, an admirable medium for the exchange of thought, between the Hindus and Muslims, had been discovered. This had led to a better understanding of each other, and the barrier of mutual distrust and suspicion was gradually disappearing. A spirit of compromise, of toleration was manifesting itself in every walk of life, and consequently principles of government and religious ideals were substantially affected. The century recorded the rise of Kashmere, Sind, Gujrat, Malwa, Rajputana, Jaunpur, Bengal, Vijayanagar and the Bahamani kingdoms as independent states, each one of them throbbing with political life. But alongside their political life they also developed new styles of art and architecture, as well as new forms of literature. If the Jahaz Mahal and Hindola Mahal of Mandu excelled in dignity and grandeur, the Tin Darwaza and the Jami Masjid of Ahmedabad embodied grace and symmetry as well as "poetry and creative inspiration"; if the Atala Masjid and the Lal Darwaza of Jaunpur displayed the vigour and simplicity, the Dakhil Darwaza and the Sat Gumbaj Masjid of Gour were distinguished by "a surprising boldness of design" and masterly finish. Indeed, if such were the splendid specimens of the North there were even more splendid ones in the South. The austere simplicity of the Jami Masjid of Gulbarga, "the elegance of outline, the unimpeachable proportions and refined details" of the Chand Minar of Daulatabad, and "the plastic form and mass, the values of contrasted light and shade" of the College of Mahmud Gawan of Bidar, exhibit a wonderful variety and skill. It may be noted that these local styles of architecture evolved only because the rulers had severed connection with Delhi and they bore distinctive marks of an amalgam of the Hindu and Muhammedan style. So long as Delhi was the seat of power and source of inspiration, there could not be evolved these independent styles. And what happened in architecture, also happened in literature, religion and politics. In Kashmere Zainul Abidin's reign inaugura-

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ted a new era that was marked by royal benevolence, religious toleration and revival of Indo-Islamic literature. "He caused the Mahabharat and Rajatarangini—to be translated from Sanskrit into Persian and several Arabic and Persian books to be translated into the Hindi language."[2] Equally glorious were the annals of Bengal under Hussain Shah and Nasrat Shah. Bengali literature got a great impetus from their liberal patronage. In Malwa the accession of the Khiljis to power synchronised with universal prosperity. Gujrat was raising to a first rate power, while Mewar in Rajputana displayed that it was full of potentialities of a remarkable future both artistic and political. Apart from their exuberance of political and cultural energy, there were signs of a great religious awakening. The impact of Islam with Hinduism had considerably affected the nature of the latter. After its first shock had died away, there arose many thinkers, who wanted to ignore the rigidity of caste and creed, and tried to find a common platform for all. Brother-hood of man, and the attainment of God by means of single-hearted love and devotion were the basic principles of their thought, and thus in the 15th century the groundwork was ready for the Bhakti movement of the 16th century. It is therefore that the fifteenth century was pregnant with precious possibilities, of which the full magnitude was realized in the next century. And to the making of this century contributed Afghan Lodis who rose to prominence in Northern India from humble beginnings in the Punjab.

The Lodis along with other Afghan tribes had settled in the Punjab for some time before they usurped the throne of Delhi. Many of them had taken service under the Sayyids, and under the last two rulers i.e., Muhammad Shah and Alam Shah, they became unduly powerful. Malik Buhlul Lodi was the governor of Sarhind under Muhammad Shah and "as the king's weakness and meanness of spirit became more apparent he gradually extended his influence over the whole of the Punjab and began to with-hold the revenue due to the royal treasury."[3] After the death of Muhammad Shah in 1444, Buhlul made secret preparations to seize the throne, on which sat Alah Shah, more feeble and vacillating

2. C.H.I., Vol. III, page 282.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 282.

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than this father Muhammad Shah. In fact the kingdom was in a distracted condition. The province of Multan never acknowledged the authority of Delhi; Darya Khan Lodi ruled over Sambhal, the western limit of which was the Jumna; Hasan Khan another Afghan held Rapri; and all these were the partisans of Buhlul. No wonder that after Alam Shah had retired to Budaun (1448) permanently abandoning the government to his brother-in-law, Buhlul found little difficulty in seizing the throne (April 1451), with the willing acquiescence of his nominal chief.

From the accession of Buhlul to the death of Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat is a span of exactly seventy-five years. It recorded the reigns of Buhlul, Sikandar and Ibrahim Lodi, and is a period of mingled light and shade, of great prosperity and deplorable distraction, of mighty efforts at centralization frustrated by universal discontent, of bright beginnings spoiled by dismal failure. In fact the germs of decay and disintegration were inherent in the Afghan body politic. Apart from the tribal traditions which assigned the position of *primus inter pares* to the king, the distracted condition of the kingdom, to which Buhlul succeeded, put a premium on the personal ability and tact of the king. It was not only that powerful states like Jaunpur, Malwa and Gwalior surrounded the Lodi empire; there were powerful chieftains within the empire itself, and they were loth to tender a willing allegiance to the king. That was the legacy of the weak Sayyids. For, "in the time of Alam Shah the province of Multan had elected a ruler of its own, who never recognised, even formally, the royal authority; and the rest of the Punjab as far south as Panipat and Hissar, was in the possession of Buhlul, whose relative Darya Khan Lodi held the district of Sambhal, the western limit of which had pushed forward as far as the ford of Khvaja Khizu, on the Jumna near Delhi. Adjoining this petty state on the south was the state of Koil, held by Isa Khan the Turk, and south of this state Hasan Khan, another Afghan, held Rapri. The lower Central Doab, including Bhongaon, Patali and Kampil was held by the Rajput Raja Pratap, and to the west of the Jumna Daud Khan Auhadi, was independent in Bayana. Gwalior was an independent Hindu state, and such tracts of Mewar as did not acknowledge the rule of Daud Auhadi were held by native chieftains whose power extended almost to the gates of

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Delhi."[4] The Lodi tenure of power was in view of these divisions highly precarious. They had not only to curb the pretensions of these, they had to successfully combat the aggressive designs of states like Jaunpur.

Indeed the whole reign of Buhlul was spent in incessant activities directed to the achievement of these two objects, and be it said to his credit that he succeeded admirably. Hardly had a year passed after his accession to the throne when the king of Jaunpur started trouble, and frequently invaded his kingdom. Inspite of the fact that Buhlul had to reckon with rebellious nobles, he not only successfully resisted his attacks, but actually annexed Jaunpur in 1486. Side by side he forced Darya Khan Lodi, Isa Khan, Mubarak Khan, Raja Pratap and Qutab Khan to submit to his authority. When he died he left to his son Sikandar Lodi (1489) an extensive and orderly kingdom. Sikandar's reign too was not devoid of troubles, but his ability and tact made him triumphant in the end. He attacked Bihar but did not gain much thereby. He reorganised the administration of Jaunpur and Sambhal, which had been brought under his direct control. When he demanded the daughter of Phaphamau King Salibahan, he was refused and an attack on the strong-hold of the Hindu king failed. His frequent invasions of the Gwalior state crippled its power, though he failed to annex it. He even formed designs of conquering Malwa. Though on the whole his reign was marked by vigour and promptitude he could not bridle the turbulence and violent temper of his tribesmen. He was apprehensive of his own nobles "who did not hesitate to belabour one another with sticks in his presence" and so far as possible kept them in good humour. But in this he did not succeed as well as his father Buhlul, of whom it is said that if at any time the nobles "were displeased with him, he tried so hard to pacify them, that he would himself go to their houses, ungird his sword from his waist, and place it before the offended party; nay, he would sometimes take off his turban from his head and solicit forgiveness saying "if you think me unworthy of the station I occupy, choose some one else, and bestow on me some other office. He maintained a friendly intercourse with all his chiefs and soldiers. If any one was ill, he would himself go

4. C.H.I., Vol. III, p. 225-226.

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and attend on him."[5] Instead of conciliating Sikandar was of a domineering nature, and it was he who began the work of centralization, and of destroying the power of his nobles. He used to remove by underhand means, nobles, on whom his suspicion fell and confiscated their property. This policy begun by him was carried to a logical conclusion by his son Ibrahim Lodi, whose inferior abilities proved his ruin. Ibrahim ascended the throne in 1517. His reign started with a civil war with his brother or uncle, Jalal Khan and it showed in a lurid light the nature of loyalty of the Afghan nobles. Then he invaded Gwalior, which was annexed by him. But this success turned his head and he "now gave rein to those groundless and unreasonable suspicions of his nobles which prompted, acts of capricious tyranny, and at length drove those who might have been the staunchest defenders of the throne into the arms of an invader.[6] He encompassed the destruction of Azami Humayun and his sons by treacherous devices, and followed it up by that of Shaikh Hussain Qarmali, governor of Chanderi. This incensed the nobles, and a wave of sullen resentment spread through the realm. Darya Khan Lohani, governor of Bihar, Khan Jahan Lodi and others raised the standard of rebellion, but Ibrahim was inexorable. A stickler of etiquette he treated the nobles with very great harshness and humiliation that was entirely incompatible with the treatment of Buhlul. When Buhlul "in his social meetings—never sat on throne and would not allow his nobles to stand; and even during public audiences he did not occupy the throne, but seated himself upon a carpet",[7] Ibrahim made them all stand in the Durbar and quail before him. At this juncture Bahadur Khan, the son of Darya Khan Lohani, proclaimed himself king in Bihar and he was joined by Nazir Khan Lohani, governor of Ghazipur. Daulat Khan Lodi, warned by his son, of the evil designs of the king on his life openly showed disaffection and invited Babar seeking his aid against the tyrant. But when all these ominous developments were taking place Babar was knocking at the gate of Hindustan.

Thus within five years of his assumption of royal office Ibrahim had undermined the prestige of his dynasty and the stablity of his

5. Elliot and Dowson, IV, pp. 436-437.
6. *C.H.I.*, Vol. III, p. 249.
7. Elliot and Dowson, IV, page 436.

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empire. It was only a reaction of his efforts at centralization of power and at the establishment of absolute kingship and these efforts had received not the blessings but the stubborn resistance of his vassals. The nature of Afghan monarchy and the traditions of Afghan tribes contributed in a large measure to frustrate his attempts. The Afghan monarchy was essentially of a feudal type, and a spirit of excessive individualism characterized the Afghan tribes. He forgot that even in the time of Sikandar Lodi the Afghans enjoyed a considerable measure of independence. It is recorded that "one half of the whole country was assigned in jagir to the Farmulis, and the other half to the other Afghan tribes." At this time Lohanis and Farmulis predominated. The districts of Saran and Champaran were held by Mian Hussain, Outh, Ambala and Hodhna by Mian Muhammed Kala Pahar; Kanauj by Mian Gadai; Shamsabad, Thanesar and Shahabad by Mian Imad; Marhara by Tartar Khan, brother of Mian Muhammad; and Hariana, Desua and other detached parganas by Khwajaji Shaikh Said. The chief of the Sarwanis was Azam Humayun and the principal chieftains of the Lodis were four: Mahmud Khan, who had Kalpi as jagir; Mian Alam to whom Etawah and Chandwa were assigned; Mubarak Khan whose jagir was Lucknow; and Daulat Khan who held Lahore ..... some kept great establishments. Azam Humayun, jagirdar of Kaira, had 45,000 horse under his command and 700 elephants. Among those of lesser note were Daulat Khan, who had 4000 cavalry; Ali Khan Ushe who had 4000 also Firoz Khan Sarwani who had 6000. Ahmad Khan also, the son of Jamal Khan Sarangkhani, when he was appointed to Jaunpur, had 20,000 cavalry under him."[8] Further so far as Punjab was concerned the Lodis "never ventured to tax the loyalty of their officials"[9] and "were content with such acknowledgment of their supremacy as was indicated by accasional remittances of tribute or revenue." Ibrahim Lodi in the face of these facts committed a blunder in political expediency when he deliberately determined to destroy the power of the military and territorial aristocracy. He had not requisite resources for the task and perhaps the attempt was premature. At any rate he had detected the symptoms of the disease that was eating into the vitals of his empire no doubt

8. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, pp. 306-307.
9. *C.H.I.*, Vol. III, page 241.

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but he had tried a remedy which was not well designed. Hence he failed, and his failure was the efficient cause of the rise of the Mughal power in India.

"From the year 910" says Babar "when I obtained the principality of Kabul up to the date of events I now record (i.e. the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi), I had never ceased to think of the conquest of Hindustan." That was because he claimed it as his own by right of descent from Ameer Taimur. But it was not before full fifteen years had passed after the conquest of Kabul that he could give definite shape to his thought. The time chosen was also most favourable, for the purpose. Ibrahim Lodi had filled his home with troubles; his kingdom was seething with discontent. Punjab, on which Babar had set his heart was just the portion of his empire, which was ready to sever allegiance and welcome a foreign invader. Babar undertook his first two expeditions against the Yusufzais in 1519. These were of a pioneer nature, meant to strike terror into the frontier tribes, so that he might later have a clear line of communication between his base i.e. Kabul and his scene of operation i.e. Punjab. But he advanced pretty far i.e. up to Bhira and sent from there Mulla Murshid as his ambassador to Ibrahim Lodi, asking for the surrender of the Punjab. This ambassador did not reach his destination, having been detained by Daulat Khan Lodi at Lahore. Encouraged by his success in the first two expeditions, he undertook a third in 1520 and advanced even farther than before. He reached Sialkot on the Chenab and it readily surrendered. There was only one more line of defence, i.e. the Ravi, which when forced, Lahore the capital of the Punjab would fall. But Babar could not effect it, for he had to meet the situation in Qandahar, and it was not before another four years had passed that he could undertake his fourth expedition.

In the meanwhile significant developments had taken place in the affairs of Ibrahim. Daulat Khan had been definitely alienated, had renounced his allegiance, and had invited Babar to come to depose Ibrahim and set up Alam Khan on the throne instead. This was the finest opportunity for Babar and specially when there was no trouble at home to distract attention. But the pussillanimity of Daulat Khan during the first three expeditions of Babar is inexplicable, and equally so is the indifference of

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Ibrahim Lodi. It is a mystery why neither Ibrahim nor Daulat Khan stirred a finger to check the raids of Babar. They had thereby encouraged Babar and when Daulat Khan actually invited him, he became confident of his success. But his fourth expedition disillusioned Babar about the reality of Daulat Khan's intentions and of his prospective occupation of the Punjab. He realized that the deposition of Ibrahim Lodi was, for Daulat Khan, a preliminary to his establishment in the Punjab in entire independence, and Babar was to be made a cats-paw of, for the purpose. The conflict of interests, as a result of conflicting claims, was inevitable.

Babar embarked on his fourth expedition in 1524, and occupied Lahore after defeating an imperial army in the vicinity of that city. This army had been despatched by Ibrahim Lodi to punish Daulat Khan for his treasonable designs, and Daulat Khan had been defeated and driven out. Here Babar realized that the occupation of the Punjab, necessarily involved a trial of strength with Ibrahim Lodi. Then at Dipalpur he met the fugitive Daulat Khan, and if at Lahore Babar was disillusioned about the reality of the occupation of the Punjab, at Dipalpur he was disillusioned about the reality of Daulat Khan's intentions. Daulat Khan resented the division of the districts of the Punjab by Babar, who retained Lahore to himself and assigned to him Jalandhar and Sultanpur, and meditated treachery. Fortunately for Babar, Dilawar Khan divulged his father's designs and Daulat Khan was imprisoned with his other son Ghazi Khan. They were however released a little later, and then Babar returned to his country for reinforcements. After the departure of Babar, Daulat Khan gathered an army, drove out Alam Khan from his jagir, made a futile attempt on Sialkot and even succeeded in dispersing an imperial detachment sent to punish him. In the meanwhile Alam Khan, who had gone to seek the aid of Babar at Kabul, after his expulsion from Dipalpur, returned with an order from Babar commanding his officers to help him against Daulat Khan, but as soon as he set his foot in the Punjab, he was won over by Daulat Khan. The allies now advanced upon Delhi, but were defeated by Ibrahim Lodi in person near Delhi. Apprised of all these incidents Babar started on his fifth and last expedition, and sweeping off all opposition before him he over-ran the whole of the Punjab,

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forced Daulat Khan and Alam Khan to submit, and then passed on to the banks of the Jumna, opposite Sirawa enroute to Panipat. On the 21st April 1526 ensued that fateful encounter, on the field of Panipat, which resulted in the defeat and death of Ibrahim Lodi. One chapter of Babar's life closed and another began and with this began also the groundwork of Mughal empire in India.

This was the first great clash between the Afghans and the Mughals. The Mughals did no doubt come out victorious by their superior organization and military skill, but this did not decide once for all that they should be supreme in Hindustan. Many a battle had yet to be fought, many a political problem had to be solved and many a reverse of fortune to be patiently borne before the empire of Hindustan passed to them. It is a long drawn struggle ..... this struggle for power between the Afghans and Mughals; and full of human interest. Great sacrifices willingly made, innumerable difficulties bravely overcome, effusions of the highest affections in most revolting circumstances and some of the splendid specimens of diplomatic achievement form the tissue of this side of the struggle. The first battle of Panipat did only the setting of the scene. Babar had dethroned the Lodi dynasty, he had not conquered the Afghan empire, for the Afghan empire belonged virtually to the Afghan tribes, and these had to be crushed before the sceptre of Hindustan passed into the hands of the Mughals. The Afghans, on the other hand, were no ordinary enemies. Their wily nature, wonderful bravery, dogged resistance and all these animated by an indomitable spirit of racial pride made the tenure of Mughal power highly precarious in Hindustan. Their long residence in the country and the exotic nature of the Mughals in India, made the former win the sympathy of the people, while the latter could not. The Mughals had to get over this disability before they could firmly establish themselves in Hindustan. That is why the Mughals were once expelled from Hindustan, and the Afghans revived their lost power. And even then the Afghans could not long retain their sway. The Mughals wrested it from them and then crushed all the recrudescence of Afghan pretensions by a combination of military power and clever diplomacy. In fact it was more by means of this diplomacy that they uprooted the Afghan power and destroyed the last vestiges of it; and their diplomacy had been mainly directed towards the winning

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of the popular sympathy and Rajput support. The matrimonial alliance with the powerful Rajput houses, their respect for Hindu susceptibilities, made their rule extremely popular. All these were initiated by Akbar, and he it was who laid deeply and truly the foundation of the Mughal empire. A lesson had been learnt by the Mughals after their expulsion from India. So long as the Afghan power had not been destroyed root and branch, Mughals could not find a stable empire in Hindustan, and for this popular sympathy and Rajput support were indispensable. This had been accomplished by 1630 a little over a century after the first battle of Panipat (1526). Thus the period between 1526 and 1630 falls into three phases: the first from 1526 to 1540 characterised by first Mughal domination; the second from 1540-1556, characterized by the expulsion of the Mughals and the revival of Afghan power under the Surs; and the third the revival of the Mughal empire and the destruction of Afghan power in India from 1556 to 1630. That is in brief the picture of the three periods of Mughal-Afghan struggle for supremacy in India.

The battle of Panipat inaugurated an era of deadly contest, and prepared the way for the battle of Kanwa. Babar's work of founding an empire had only begun and he now realised the magnitude of the task before him. "Every where the leaders of the Afghan tribes set themselves up as independent chiefs, and fortified themselves in convenient strong-holds. Kasim Sambali set himself up in Sambal; Nizam Khan in Biana; Hasan Khan Mesati in Mewat; Muhammad Zaitun in Dholpur; Tartar Khan Sarangkhani in Gwalior; Hussain Khan Lohani in Rabiri; Kutb Khan in Etawa; Alam Khan in Kalpi—Kanauj and the whole country beyond the Ganges, was still entirely in the power of formidable enemies like Nasir Khan Lohani and Maaruf Farmuli. The Afghans of this quarter set up a certain Bahadur Khan—under the name of Sultan Muhammad." Babar had to reduce the power of these chieftains. In the accomplishment of this task the immense military prestige, that he had gained on account of his victory at Panipat, and his determination to stay in Hindustan stood in good stead. Many of the petty chieftains dreaded his might, and quietly submitted. So were Shaikh Guren, Shaikh Baizid, Mustafa Farmuli, Firoz Khan, Mahmud Khan Lohani and others. They brought their armies also and joined Babar who

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thus had a fresh accession of strength. Then Babar thought of a brilliant device of reducing the country. "He made grants of towns and fortresses yet unconquered to prominent men and then sent them off with a small force to take possession." In this way Sambal fell to Humayun, Rabiri to Muhammad Ali Jang-Hang Etawa to Mahdi Khwaja, Kanauj to Muhammad Duldai, Dholpur to Sultan Junaid Barlas. Thus a fair part of the Doab and a few districts outside of it, were brought under the Mughal sway. In the meanwhile the Afghans in the east had viewed the proceedings of Babar with some alarm, and were massing their troops at Kanauj to force a battle. Humayun was despatched for the purpose, and he beat them steadily back and captured Jaunpur, Ghazipur and Kalpi. At this juncture he was ordered to give up further operation and returned to join Babar who had declared holy war on Rana Sanga.

That was about the beginning of February 1527, and on the 16th of March 1527 was fought the battle of Kanwa, which shattered the strength of the Rajput confederacy under Rana Sanga and placed Babar in a position of unassailable power and military prestige. An empire had been definitely won, and it had now to be kept and continued. That was a task which involved many practical difficulties. The first was the destruction of the disgruntled Afghan military aristocracy and the second was the building up of an absolute monarchy on the ruins of Afghan political traditions consisting in the diffusion of power and elective character of kingship. The first was in the line of Babar. He was a mighty warrior and he inflicted crushing blows on the Afghan nobility till at last it was prostrate. Between 1527 and 1529, whether the Afghan nobles were confronted individually or in league, they were invariably beaten. Husain Khan Lohani was defeated and drowned while crossing the Jumna, and Chandwa and Rabiri were occupied. Kutb Khan surrendered Etawa, and Biban, Lord of Lucknow, also abandoned his possessions which fell into the hands of the invaders. But while Babar was busy besieging Chanderi, the Afghans in the east, headed by Biban and Baizid, had defeated a Mughal detachment and had occupied Lucknow. Babar, therefore, after the capture of Chanderi confronted the rebels in person, and defeated them at Kanuaj (12th-15th March 1528). The Afghans fled away pursued by a Mughal commander.

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They then took shelter in Bihar and Bengal and it was not till May 1529 that Babar was called upon to confront them again. Helped this time by the king of Bengal, who alone brought 24 divisions of the army into the field, they threatened the eastern possessions of Babar. At the battle of Gogra (6th May 1529) Babar met the confederates and routed them after fierce fighting. The rebels were dispersed and never after this disaster did they venture to trouble Babar, till his death in December 1530. Thus Babar successfully accomplished one of the two tasks; he had crushed the Afghan nobility and thus contributed to the work of Sher Shah. If Sher Shah built up a system absolute kingship by centralizing power, it had been facilitated by the destructive work of Babar. Had he not crushed the power of the Afghan nobility, the constructive work of Sher Shah might have been retarded by the revival of Afghan tribal traditions. Thus if Sher Shah contributed to the work of Akbar, Babar had contributed to that of Sher Shah, and it is on that score that Babar had all his credit.

Now as for the other task, i.e., the building up of an absolute monarchy he was a complete failure. Apart from the fact that he was no administrative genius, he had no time for it. He had hardly succeeded in wresting power from his Afghan enemies when he was laid in the grave. Establishment of absolute monarchy in a country where there was none lately, involved an intense centralization of power. Centralization of power again presupposes the maintenance of an efficient and devoted standing army, and a sound financial system that would help to maintain a standing army. Babar had a standing army and an efficient and devoted one but he had not a sound financial system. Indeed he had not created one. It is at this juncture that he died, and the difficulties under which he laboured and which did not adversely affect his tenure of power, recoiled with redoubled vigour, because their solution had been delayed on his son Humayun. And when that was combined with Humayun's lack of the genius for leadership as also with his generosity to a fault, we can understand why he was a failure, why he was expelled from India by Sher Shah who was strong in those very virtues in which Humayun was bankrupt.

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Babar left to his son a fairly big kingdom in India comprising the whole of the Punjab, Sirhind, Hisar Firoza, Delhi and the Doab, Mewat, Biana, Agra, Gwalior, Kalpi, Kanauj, Sambal, Lucknow, Khairabad, Oudh, Jaunpur, Karra-Manikpur, Bihar, Sirohi, Champaran, Cundega (?) and eight chiefships.[10] Besides these there were the transfrontier possessions of Kabul, Quandahar and Badakshan. But soon after his accession to the throne Humayun assigned the transfrontier possessions to Kamran, Sambhal to Askari and Mewat to Hindal, in consonance with the traditions of his house. That the measure was beset with troubles, was realised a little later. Kamran whose ambition knew no limits, and who always considered himself better fitted to occupy the throne, now showed himself in true colours. On the pretext of visiting Lahore he occupied it and along with it all its dependencies (1531). Humayun was not in a position to chastise him, and hence he not only granted the Punjab to him, he also bestowed upon him Hisar Firoza in a fit of generosity. When Humayun's power was thus suffering diminution owing to the reckless ambition of his own brother ominous developments were taking place in the east, and the Afghans were fast rising under Sher Shah to menace the sway of the Mughals. The annals of the next few years centre round the personality of Sher Shah.

The rise of Sher Shah embodied the revival of Afghan power in India, and the chief point of interest in his life was that he displayed a constructive genius of the highest order, and founded an organized empire on sound bureaucratic lines.... a thing that is rarely noticed amongst the Afghans. Farid, for that was the early name of Sher Shah, was the son of Hasan Khan, and the grandson of Ibrahim Khan Sur. Ibrahim had served several nobles of distinction under the Lodis and lived for a long time at Hisar Firoza, where his son Hasan was born. In his youth Hasan served Raimal a Hindu officer of great note and probably picked up a working knowledge of revenue administration. Then he came to Bihar and served Nasir Khan Lohani, Doulat Khan Lohani and Biban Khan Jilwani one after another, and became so famous for his honesty that when Jamal Khan came as the governor of Jaunpur, he took him in his service. Hasan received

10. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 262.

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three jagirs viz. Sahasaram, Khawaspur and Tanda from him on the condition of maintaining five hundred horse.

Farid was the eldest of the eight sons of Hasan. Born in 1486, he left his father's abode and went to Jaunpur at the age of fifteen owing to the partiality of his father towards the sons of his step-mother, a Hindu concubine raised to the status of wife, who had monopolised the love of old Farid. When Hasan came to know this, he requested Jamal Khan his chief, to persuade his son to return home. Jamal Khan tried his utmost to send Farid back but the latter protested and was allowed to remain in Jaunpur. There Farid devoted himself to the close study of languages, Quranic laws and commentaries and soon made his mark as a scholar. He was fond of the learned society and men of saintly character. About the year 1511 his father came to Jaunpur summoned by Jamal Khan to render military service and there heard of the reputation of his son which made him extremely happy. Hasan Khan was prevailed upon by his relatives to conciliate his son, and he did act accordingly. Farid was persuaded to go home and to manage the jagirs during his father's absence. Farid consented to the latter proposal on the condition that he was given absolute discretion of all affairs and persons in the jagirs. Since Hasan agreed Farid came and took over the charge of the jagirs (1511). For about eight years he managed them with consummate ability. He reduced to submission the unruly zamindars, in the jagirs, drove to destruction all those who had persisted in disturbing the peace and prosperity of the people and protected the peasantry by a reassessment of the land based on a system of survey and taking kabuliats in writing by which the peasants agreed to pay a certain rent. An exception was made where the local custom of only a division of crops prevailed. These activities improved the condition of the jagirs immensely, and when Mian Hasan returned home (1519) he was overjoyed not only to find that his jagirs were prosperous, but also to hear that everyone spoke highly of the abilities and achievements of Farid. Farid would have continued in the management of jagirs had it not been for the intrigues of his step-mother, who wanted her son Suleiman to take the management. After a good deal of wavering Hasan consented and when Farid was appraised of it he left his paternal home and went and took service with Daulat Khan Lodi one of the lead-

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ing nobles at the court of Agra. Soon after died Mian Hasan and on the request of Farid, Daulat Khan procured for his protege an imperial Ferman conferring the jagirs on Farid and an imperial detachement to reinstate him in his possessions to the prejudice of his step-brother Suleiman. When Farid came back to his jagirs thus armed, Suleiman unable to offer resistance fled to Muhammed Khan Sur, Jagirdar of the pargana Chaund, a dependency of Baxar. Since the patron of Suleiman was more powerful and in those days of insecurity when Ibrahim's rule was disturbed by the discontent and rebellions of the Afghans, Ibrahim's farman was not likely to avail him much. Hence he attached himself to the service of Muhammad Shah who had set up his independence in Bihar. Farid served him faithfully and won his favour by an unflinching devotion to duty. On one occasion he saved the life of his master by killing a tiger, and won the title of Sher Shah. Gradually he rose from his office of a Revenue officer to that of the Deputy of his master and Tutor of his master's son Jelal Khan. After the battle of Panipat Muhammed Shah started for the north (May and June 1526) to fight the Mughal, but finding that the latter was in no mood to start a campaign he returned. On his way back to Bihar Farid took leave at Baxar to go to his jagir. He however overstayed his leave (October to December 1526) and thus displeased Muhammad Shah. Taking advantage of his displeasure, Muhammad Khan Sur insinuated that Sher Khan was busy planning ambitious schemes and that it would be wise to deprive him of his jagirs and confer them on Suleiman. Muhammad Shah declined to deprive Sher Khan of his jagir but asked Muhammad Khan Sur to mediate and settle the claims of Sher Khan and Suleiman. Muhammad Khan thus authorized sent an agent to Sher Khan demanding a share for his step-brothers in the jagirs according to the "laws and customs of Afghans". To this Sher Khan returned a spirited reply adding that "this is not the Roh country that I should share equally with my brothers. The country of India is completely at the disposal of the king."[11] How he was actuated by this principle when he was the king of India would be seen later on. At any rate the reply incensed Muhammad Khan very much, and he

11. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. IV.

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sent an army against him, and got him expelled. Then Suleiman and his brother got possession of the jagirs.

Expelled from his jagirs Farid went to the shelter of Junaid Barbas, the Mughal governor of Jaunpur, and serving him for two or three months at Jaunpur accompanied him to Agra where he was presented to Babar by the middle of 1527. He took part in the siege of Chanderi by Babar and accompanied the latter in his south Bihar campaign in the hot weather of 1528 and served him as a guide. In the mean while Muhammad Shah had died and his minor son Jalal Khan had succeeded to the throne. The change of succession had given rise to all sorts of troubles and Babar's invasion was therefore most opportune. His invasion scared away every body and Muhammad Khan Sur and Suleiman fled away from their jagirs. Sher Khan owing to his services to Babar, was given his own jagirs as well as those of Muhammad Khan Sur. But he did not retain that of Muhammad Khan and after inviting him back he handed over his jagirs to him. Thus he won over an enemy and converted him into a staunch ally.

Now the Afghan leaders Maruf, Biban and Baiazid set up Mahmud Lodi in the place of Muhammad Shah as the king of the Afghans (September 1528). Sher Khan in order to avoid suspicion that he was a creature of the Mughals took service with him and joined him when he marched against the Mughals about the end of 1528. The activities of Mahmud Lodi had frightened Jalal Khan, the minor son of Muhammad Shah, who fled away towards Bengal and at the same time made Babar furious. The latter started immediately to drive out the Afghans. On the 5th March 1529 Mahmud Lodi was forced to retreat, but as Babar pursued him he was joined by the king of Bengal Nasrat Shah's Governor Makhdumi Alam, who was then campaigning in the Tirhut and other adjoining districts, and brought his twenty-four divisions of army to the battle of Gogra (6th May 1529). The defeat of the allies was followed by the flight of the Afghan nobles like Maruf and Baiazid westwards towards Lucknow and of Mahmud Lodi eastward into Bengal, where he found shelter with Nasrat Shah. After the rebels cleared off Jalal Khan with his mother tendered submission to Babar and so did Sher Khan. Babar reinstated Jelal Khan and Sher Khan in their own position and returned to Agra. Jalal became the lord of Bihar acting

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through his mother Dudu, who became the Regent and Sher Khan became the Deputy of Dudu. When a little later Dudu died Sher Khan became nominally the Deputy of Jalal Khan, but virtually the master of the state. Sher Khan was an apostle of absolutism, and he proceeded to give effect to this principle depriving the nobles of their jagirs, by insisting upon the regular payment of royal revenues and by safeguarding the popular interest against all aristocratic rapacity. In four years he had dealt a death-blow to the power of the nobility, promoted the welfare of the people, and had won the loyalty of the army "so much so that within the frontiers of Bihar no one dared disobey his orders." During this period he acquired the fort of Chunar. Thus when Sher Khan was consolidating his power there came Mahmud Lodi again helped by the king of Bengal Nasrat Shah, to cross swords with Humayun who after his father's death had succeeded to the throne. The belligerants met at the battle of Doura (July 1531) and there Mahmud Lodi was not only beaten but was put to flight after the death of his partisans Biban and Baiazid. Doura cleared the way for Sher Khan to rise by removing the Afghan nobles and their leader once for all.

After the battle of Doura, Humayun set his heart on the conquest of Chunar and besieged it. When it came to the verge of surrender Sher Khan submitted and sent his son to serve the emperor with a contingent. This pleased Humayun and he on the importunities of Sher Khan left it under him. This was a mistake for which Humayun was to repent later on. But for the time being Sher Khan had outwitted him. Since Chunar secured his western frontier Sher Khan now turned to the east. Here he found Makhdumi Alam seditiously dsiposed towards his master Mahmud Shah who had succeeded Nasrat Shah in Bengal, and made friendship with him. He aided him against the king of Bengal, but could not save him. Sher Khan's alliance with Makhdumi Alam had made him the enemy of the king of Bengal and after the death of Makhdumi Alam he determined to attack Sher Khan. Meanwhile troubles were brewing for Sher Khan at home and he had become the object of court conspiracy in which the Lohani nobles, deprived of their jagirs and therefore burning in revenge had joined hands with Jalal Khan, who also had been smarting under the tutelage of Sher Khan (July-September 1533). Now it was decided that Jalal Khan should go and face the invader while Sher

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Khan remained in charge of the administration. The motive was that Jalal Khan with the malcontents should march out with an army; instead of fighting Mahmud Shah of Bengal he would join him; enter Bihar in combination with him and then driving out his masterful deputy Sher Khan, become king both in name and in fact. The plan materialised in every detail, except the last. After the desertion of Jalal Khan to the enemy (December 1533) Sher Khan became virtually the lord of Bihar. But Sher Khan had yet to meet the confederate forces of the two kings, i.e., Jalal Khan and Mahmud Shah. That came about at the battle of Surajgarh (March 1534) and be it said to his credit that he won a complete victory over the confederate forces. It was a moral victory for Sher Khan apart from anything else. By deserting to the enemy Jalal Khan had discredited himself and by defeating the enemy Sher Khan had become the saviour of the people. Now he was the real ruler of the country. But his position was somewhat anomalous. He was a vassal of the Mughals and at the same time lord of Bihar. Yet Sher Khan did not tear off the screen of Mughal vassalage. This caution stood him in good stead and gave no room for the suspicion of the Mughals. That is why Humayun could with an easy heart start on his famous expedition against Bahadur Shah of Gujrat (February 1535).

But Sher Khan knew how far he could go with safety. He recalled his son as soon as the emperor started for Malwa. And if Humayun opened his campaign against Bahadur Shah in February 1535, Sher Khan opened his against Mahmud Shah of Bengal in May 1535. He conquered the whole of Monghyr district by July and when he realized that Humayun was in no position to return soon, he determined to follow up his victory after the rainy season. In January 1536 he marched on Gaur but finding the way through the Telia Ghari passes blocked by the Portuguese, who had been drawn into an alliance by Mahmud Shah and had been charged with the defence of the passes, Sher Khan abandoned that route, took another and less frequented one, called the Jharkhand route and appeared before Gaur by the end of February 1536. That frightened Mahmud Shah and inspite of the remonstrances of the Portuguese, he made peace with Sher Khan by offering him 13 lacs of gold and by ceding territories from Kiul to Sikriagali, 90 miles long and 30 miles broad. It was a brilliant achievement, and raised Sher Khan to the highest distinction

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among the Afghans. This event synchronised with the flight of Bahadur Shah to Diu, to the Shelter of the Portuguese, and therefore all those who had found a refuge in his court now came and joined Sher Khan. He became the rallying point of the scattered elements of Afghan nobility and this naturally increased his self-confidence. But a new danger threatened him. Humayun who had come back from his Gujrat and Malwa campaign looked upon with suspicion the proceedings of Sher Khan and Mahmud Shah was expecting help from the Portuguese. Sher Khan on the other hand was anxious to complete the conquest of Bengal for he had seen the richness of the prize and the weakness of its defenders. As he waited to watch the further developments, Humayun sent Hindu Beg, the governor of Jaunpur, to report on the conduct of Sher Khan; and Mahmud Shah sent Alfanso Vaz De Britto to Goa for help from the Portuguese viceroy. Since Hindu Beg's report was favourable and it lulled the suspicions of the emperor, Sher Khan embarked on his second invasion of Bengal (October 1537), and thus forestalled the designs of Mahmud Shah who was only waiting for the arrival of the Portuguese to commence hostilities. The latter arrived with 9 ships at Chittagong in the winter of 1537, but Sher Khan was prepared for it. He started by conquering the outlying districts of Bengal, especially Chittagong from its Portuguese governor and then besieged Gaur. But at this juncture an unexpected enemy appeared on the scene. The second invasion of Sher Khan had changed the attitude of Humayun and he started to punish him in the second week of December 1537. Sher Khan was in a fix. The siege of Gaur sad just begun and the Portuguese though expelled from Chittagong had been watching for an opportunity to join hands with Mahmud Shah; while from the west Humayun was coming with all his fury. Sher Khan made a quick decision of the course of action, he had to pursue, and determined to oppose Humayun at Chunar as long as possible in order that he might complete the conquest of Gaur undisturbed. It had been anticipated that Humayun would reach Chunar sooner, because the distance was shorter from Agra than from Gaur, Hence Sher Khan made all possible haste and before Humayun arrived there he had thrown a garrison into Chunar, provisioned it and removed from it women and children to Bahrkunda, a fortress in the interior. Now Humayun began the siege of the fortress in January 1538 and it was not before the middle of May

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1538 that the fort surrendered. Of course Sher Khan had anticipated it, and therefore had removed the women and children still farther into the fortress of Rohtas, which he had acquired by treachery from its Hindu king. That was in March 1538 and on the 6th April Gaur surrendered to his son Jalal Khan and his general Khawas Khan, who had been conducting the siege in the absence of Sher Khan. After the fall of Chunar there were peace-talks on both sides, but they fell through and Humayun marched on to invade Bengal. On the way the fugitive king of Bengal—Muhmud Shah met him and tendered his allegiance. But Sher Khan was not prepared to allow Humayun a free passage into the Bengal till he had removed the treasures of Gaur to Rohtas. Hence he deputed his son Jalal Khan to defend the pass and detain the Mughals. Jalal Khan carried out the commission and abandoned the pass, when so directed by his father after the latter had returned from Gaur and deposited all the treasure at Rohtas (September 1538). Now Humayun entered Bengal and occupied Gaur without any difficulty. Then followed a period of six months' sensual torpor, when Humayun forgot his responsibilities, and when Sher Khan cut off the communication between Agra and Gaur and conquered the whole country right up to Benares and Jaunpur. Chunar was conquered from its Mughal governor and so was Benares. Only Jaunpur held out for long. About the end of December 1538 Sher Khan's rapid conquest and continuous interception of intelligence disturbed the repose of the emperor and he decided to quite Bengal. He made arrangements for the administration of the country and left Jahangir Beg with 5000 troops for the purpose. By the beginning of March 1539 he issued from Bengal and dogged by Sher Khan came to a halt at Chaunsa. Sher Khan was encamped on the western and the Mughals on the eastern bank of a small stream flowing between Chaunsa and Baxar. From this position the emperor could neither attack Sher Khan with advantage nor could he continue his retreat. In this position both the parties remained till the rainy season set in, when they shifted to higher positions. But for Humayun the situation was becoming critical and though two months and a half had elapsed, no reinforcements arrived from Agra, whither had been sent Shaikh Bahol to persuade Hindal to come to the aid of his brother. Instead of helping Humayun his brother—Hindal at first and Kamran later on, were indulging in ambitious schemes, prejudical to the interest of the

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dynasty. They even treated with scant attention the wise counsel of Mir Fateh Ali the governor of Delhi and Yadgar Nasir Mirza. Since no help was forthcoming from Agra Humayun sent one Shaikh Khalil to Sher Khan to negotiate for peace, Sher Khan dictated his terms, which included the surrender of Chunar with all the territories to east of it. Humayun in consistence with his dignity could not accept them, and the negotiations fell through.

Now Sher Khan made secret preparations for a surprise attack for he had learnt from Shaik Kalil, whom he had bribed, that Humayun's army had become demoralised. Thus encouraged, he attacked the imperial camp on the morning of the 27th June 1539, routed and dispersed the army and captured the imperial family along with a large booty. Humayun escaped swimming across the river, assisted by a water-carrier and fled away towards the capital. For Humayun, had been lost all except life; for Sher Khan had been won all except the throne of Delhi. This was the first great defeat of the Mughals by the Afghans and the credit was entirely Sher Khan's. From Chaunsa Sher Khan returned to Bengal where he drove to destruction Jahangir Beg with all his 5000 Mughal veterans, systematically reduced the country to subjection and crowned himself king at Gaur with the style Sher Shah (December 1539). One phase of his rise was over. He had worked his way up from the position of a petty jagirdar of Bihar to that of the king of Bengal and Bihar. He had fought on equal terms with the Mughal emperor and had defeated him. Such was his achievement of the past few years and yet that was not all. Still greater achievements awaited him; far higher laurels were yet to be his. King of Bengal and Bihar, vanquisher of the Mughal emperor, and the champion of Afghan independence, Sher Shah now aspired for the throne of Delhi and before trying to wrest it from Humayun he wanted to make adequate preparation for it. He sent two ambassadors, one to Malwa and the other to Gujrat, requesting the aid of their kings against Humayun. He perhaps had anticipated that since Humayun had, a few years back, over-run these two countries, their kings would now have no hesitation in creating a diversion in his favour by attacking Humayun from the south-west and thus the Mughal emperor would be harassed on all sides. But he was disappointed, because Gujarat was in a state of confusion and in

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Malwa Qadir Shah became offended with him. Meanwhile Sher Shah had embarked on his expedition against the Mughals (February 1540) and had come as far as Prayag. There he detached his son Kutb Khan with a rather small army, because he had anticipated help from Malwa, to march up along the southern fringe of the Doab, while he himself marched along the northern fringe, thus taking Humayun on both the flanks. Kutb Khan, however, fighting single-handed was badly beaten at the battle of Kalpi and slain. Sher Shah met Humayun at the battle of Kanauj (17th May 1540), defeated him and put him to flight. This defeat of Humayun like the first was due to the short-sighted and selfish policy of Kamran. On the eve of the battle of Kanauj, Kamran left his brother to his own fate and went away with his 11,000 warhardened soldiers to Lahore at a time when Humayun did not have an army worth the name with which to fight Sher Shah. Hence the inevitable came to pass. Defeated for the second time, Humayun fled away evacuating Agra and Delhi and reached Lahore with his family and two brothers Hindal and Askari. Behind him followed Sher Shah, took possession of the capital and proclaimed himself king. With this began another chapter in the career of Sher Shah. He had redeemed the honour of the Afghans and had wrested the throne of Delhi for them. But the throne thus wrested had to be retained and the Mughals beaten, had to be expelled from India. To the accomplishment of these he now turned his attention.

At Lahore, when all the brothers met and conferred together Humayun tried to persuade Kamran to combine their resources and oppose the usurper. But from the beginning, the spirit of the conference was vitiated by the treacherous designs of Kamran, who had opened overtures with Sher Shah to seize and surrender Humayun in case he was allowed to retain the Punjab. This state of Mughal affairs emboldened Sher Shah and he attacked the Punjab and made a clean sweep of all these quarrelling brothers of whom Humayun, Askari and Hindal fled towards Sind and Kamran fled towards Kabul. He pursued them as far as Khushab and from there he returned to Bhira leaving Khawas Khan to pursue Humayun and Haibat Khan Niazi to pursue Kamran. From Bhira he wanted to subdue the country of the Gakkars extending on the west along the Indus from Kala Bag to Attock and on the east along the Jhelum up to the town of Khushab, for its strategic

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importance as well as for the professed loyalty of the Gakkars to the Timurids, of which Kamran was established in Kabul and Mirza Haidar Doghlat in Kashmere. Since the chiefs of Gakkars, Sultan Adam and Sultan Sarang would not tender allegiance an army was despatched against them. They were defeated and large numbers of prisoners were taken and sold as slaves. But a victory here and there was, he was told, not likely to be effectual. The country owing to its rugged features was extremely difficult to subdue and to this difficulty was combined an indomitable and warlike spirit of the people. Therefore it was decided that a strong fortress should be built at a spot from where the whole country could be dominated. The spot selected was given the name of Rohbas-Attock and Haidar Khan Niazi was put in charge of the construction of the fortress as well as of controlling the Gakkars with 50,000 troops. Sher Shah had to hasten back to Bengal where Khiz-a-Khan his governor had assumed signs of royalty (March 1541).

Khizir Khan had married the daughter of the late Sultan Mahmud Shah and had thus strengthened his position in the eyes of the legitimists. But before he could mature his plans, Sher Shah arrived at Gaur (May 1541). His arrival completely disarmed him and taken by surprise he tendered his submission. Sher Shah imprisoned him and reorganized the administration of Bengal so that there might be hardly any future possibility of a rebellion. He reduced the bulk of the province by fixing the western boundary along the line of the Koshi on the northern bank of the Ganges and the country between the Rajmahal hills and the Birbhum district on the southern bank of the Ganges. Then he divided the province into twenty-four small governorships, each under a Shiqdar and above them all he appointed a Qazi, styled Qazi Fazilat, Amin-i-Bangala. These arrangements were completed by January 1542 and he returned to Agra meditating the conquest of Malwa. The conquest of Malwa was necessary to forestall the designs firstly of the Timurids, who might utilize Gujrat as a base and thence work through Malwa with the object of recovering their lost empire, and secondly of Maldeo of Marwar who was sure to find a willing ally in the Rajput leader, Puran Mal of Raiseen. Hence in July 1541, the siege of Gwalior had been ordered and since it now surrendered (17th April 1542), Sher Shah wanted to follow up by an expedition into Malwa,

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desiring an amicable settlement with the chieftains of the country. And so it was. At Gagraon Puran Mal, at Sarangpur Mallu Khan or Qadir Shah, and at Ujjain Muin Khan came and submitted. But Sher Shah in order to remove Qadir Shah from Malwa ordered his transfer to Gaur and this brought him out in true colours. He rebelled and fled away to Gujrat. This was followed by the imprisonment of Muin Khan, as a precautionary measure.

By the end of June 1542 Sher Shah returned to Agra. Here another important affair awaited his attention. Humayun frustrated in his attempts at the conquest of Sind, had come to Jodhpur invited by Maldeo and naturally this endangered the security of Sher Shah's throne. He therefore wrote a peremptory letter to Maldeo, demanding either that he should expel Humayun from his territory or that he should suffer Sher Shah to do that, and followed it up by an expedition which he led himself to the frontiers of Maldeo's territory. The threat had its desired effect and Humayun was compelled by Maldeo to retreat. By September 1542 Sher Shah was back again in Agra. Then he took up the affairs of Bihar and organized its government. In the meanwhile Puran Mal had rebelled because in pursuance of his usual policy of administration Sher Shah had transferred him to Benares. Sher Shah was prepared for it and in January 1543 he took the field. Puran Mal was besieged at Raiseen, and brought to straits sued for peace. Sher Shah gladly accepted the proposal and a treaty was concluded by which the Rajputs were to be allowed to march out of the fort; unmolested with their family and belongings while the Afghans moved two marches away. But as the Rajputs were marching out the Afghans of Malwa aided by a holy man Shaikh Rafiuddin Safwi, clamoured for breaking faith with Puran Mal on the score that the latter had enslaved many of their women, Sher Shah yielded more for the purpose of preventing their joining and swelling the ranks of Maldeo than for satisfying the fanatic zeal of the Muslims. Accordingly the Rajputs were, surprised, surrounded and despite their brave fighting butchered. It is a blot on the fair name of Sher Shah that he behaved with perfidy.

After the reduction of Malwa Sher Shah turned his attention to Sind. Its conquest was necessary partly for preventing the possibility of a Timurid attack from beyond the Bolan Pass—either by Humayun who had gone to Persia to seek aid from the Shah

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or by Kamran who held Qandahar and partly for hemming in Maldeo by a ring of imperial territories as a preliminary for any attack on him. No sooner resolved than Haibat Khan Niazi was ordered from the Punjab. In the early part of 1543 Upper Sind was conquered and in October and November 1543, Lower Sind was occupied. It is after this that Sher Shah started to destroy Maldeo. The first great difficulty was the choice of a suitable route, for there were two, one via Ranthambor and Ajmer, the other via Nagore and Mirtha. He however chose the latter and came as far as Mirtha, where Maldeo had taken a strong position. Since Maldeo would not take the offensive, Sher Shah had to wait full one month and his position was fast becoming critical. He was in the enemy's country 260 miles away from his base of operation, Narnol, and he could not attack with advantage the position of Maldeo. Hence he tried a trick. He wrote a number of letters in the name of Maldeo's nobles and contrived them to fall into the hands of Maldeo. That accomplished what Sher Shah could not have done by force. Inspite of the solemn assertions by his nobles of their good-faith, Maldeo decamped. But his general Kumbha did not. He remained with 12,000 of his brave Rajputs to give proof of his fidelity. The next day he made a furious attack on the Afghans and but for their superior number and artillery, he would have defeated them. At any rate Sher Shah won a splendid victory and promptly followed up his advantage. He divided his armies into two sections, one he himself led against Ajmer and the other led by Khawas Khan, Isa Khan and other chiefs moved upon Jodhpur. Ajmer opened its gates without resistance to Sher Shah who then made for Mount Abu and occupied it. Pali, a rich market place was looted and a rich booty taken. In the meanwhile the other army had taken possession of Jodhpur with ease since Maldeo had evacuated it and had retired to Siwana. This completed the conquest of Marwar, and Sher Shah hastened back to his capital where all sorts of false rumours were spreading about his fate, leaving the army in occupation. In June 1544, after a short stay at Agra, he rejoined his army at Ajmer and then made a move upon Chittor. His approach put the usurper Banbir to flight and Chittor was occupied and left in charge of imperial officers. This actually gave a finishing touch to his Rajput policy. He had crushed Maldeo and had planted his power at the four most strategic points of Rajputana viz.

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Ajmer, Mt. Abu, Jodhpur and Chittor which were strongly garrisoned. From these four points he dominated Rajputana which he never wanted to conquer and bring under his direct control. What he wanted was a complete "political and geographical isolation" of the Rajput houses from one another, which would make combination impossible. In fact his policy was one of coercion not relieved by conciliation and forms a contrast to that of Akbar. It is clearly brought out by an incident which typifies Sher Shah's Rajput policy. After the occupation of Chittor he made an armed demonstration in his triumphal march through Jaipur as if "to impress the Rajputs with the resistless might of the rejuvenated empire of Delhi."

Back from Rajputana, he undertook the siege of Kalinger, because its Raja Kiran Singh had given him offence by sheltering a recalcitrant chieftain. The fortress was of a strategic importance also. He started the siege in November 1544 and vigorously carried it on in person till on the 22nd May 1545 the day the fort was captured he got severely burnt owing to an explosion of a heap of rockets and expired. Thus expired a great king, a great warrior and a great administrator. He left behind him enduring monuments of his genius. His system of administration framed on efficient bureaucratic lines, his excellent army organization, his public and philanthropic works, his police system and coinage all these bear testimony to his greatness. Indeed he had achieved more during the five years of his rule than what many others would do in a life-time. And all unwittingly he had built up a system of administration, which was best suited to the ideal of absolute kingship of the Timurids. In fact he had laid the foundations for the Mughal empire.

Sher Shah was succeeded by his son Islam Shah (1545-53) whose ambition centred round the accomplishment of two things. The one was to establish himself on the throne to the prejudice of his elder brother Adil Khan; the other was to reduce the power of the great Afghan nobles, and thereby to make the royal power absolute. The trouble started very early owing to his suspicious and perfidious conduct towards Adil Khan and this eventually merged into a war of extermination of the four prominent nobles Kutb Khan, Jalal Khan, Isa Khan and Khawas Khan, who aided Adil Khan. He however succeeded in driving them to destruction

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and then securely sat on the throne of Delhi to the prejudice of his brother. His suspicion next fell on others like Sujaat Khan, but with less disastrous consequences to themselves. About 1548 he entered the Gakkar country and remained for two years to see the fort of Rohtas completed, further ordered the fort of Mankot to be constructed. Having thus secured his northern frontier against future attacks either of Humayun or Mirza Haidar Doghlat, he returned home.

In 1552 happened an incident that might well have made him proud of his position. Flying from his pursuers and expelled by Humayun from Kabul, Kamran, who had behaved most treacherously with his brother, came to the court of Islam Shah. He considered it extremely lucky, for with Karman as a tool he could frustrate all aggressive designs of Humayun on his kingdom and if circumstances permitted he might be a king-maker. Hence he entertained Kamran in his court, but at the same time kept him under surveillance. It proved galling to Kamran and he managed to escape back to the Gakkars who surrendered him to Humayun (1553). By now Islam Shah's days were numbered and he soon expired (1553) worn out by constant campaigns and disease.

"In person he was handsome and powerful. He possessed a competent degree of learning and is said to have treasured up in his memory the chief works of the best Persian poets. He was intelligent, acute, fond of the society of the learned men and of the pious divines and remarkable for his skill in extempore poetical composition as well as for his wit and ready repartee." He too like his father was a great king, and did much not only to retain but to improve the system of government established by his father. But his successor and brother-in-law, Muhammed Shah Adil, who had ascended the throne by murdering the twelve-year old son of Islam Shah, proved extremely incapable. Rebellions started in different parts of the empire. His two brothers-in-law Sikandar Sur and Ibrahim Khan Sur proclaimed themselves king in the Punjab and Agra respectively. He himself had to shift from Gwalior which was the capital to Chunar, to suppress the revolt of Taj Khan Karareni. When the kingdom was thus rent by civil war, attacked Humayun from the north, occupied Lahore, defeated an army of Sikandar Sur at Machhiwara and then captured Delhi and with it his lost throne. Thus came to a close the second phase

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of the struggle, heralded by the downfall of the Sur dynasty and re-establishment of the Mughal dynasty in India.

This period from 1540-1555, apart from the expulsion of the Mughals from India and revival of Afghan power was a period of remarkable achievements. Far-reaching policies of government were enunciated, a wonderfully efficient system of administration was devised, and philanthropic works were undertaken on an extensive scale. The first two Surs were unique amongst the rulers of medieval India in many ways and were really the precursors of Akbar. Almost the first among the emperors of northern India Sher Shah followed a policy of religious toleration, and was never swayed by religious prejudices or sectarian rancour. His love of justice was equally unique. He would not spare his own son when he violated the honour of a commoner's wife. In the administration Hindus used to be freely associated and merit not birth was the chief consideration. In fact as Prof. Qanungo remarks "he stands by the side of Akbar as a grand nation-builder". His administrative system framed on bureaucratic lines was characterized by a full-blooded energy and efficiency. Centralization of authority was the keynote of his government. Revenue, police, civil and criminal justice, coinage and public works all received equal attention and bore the stamp of his genius. What he had done was continued by his son Islam Shah. About his administrative policy Erskine remarks that "he endeavoured to concentrate all power in his own person. He deprived the Amirs of all their war-elephants leaving them perhaps only a bad female one for carriage ..... Reports came in to him regularly from every part of his territories and in return he wrote mandates concerning every matter and thing whether relating to religion, civil government or revenue ..... These mandates whether agreeable to law or not it was necessary to conform in their minutest particulars. No reference to Qazi or Mufti was allowed ..... He seems to have kept something like a standing army which his plan to bring all the revenue directly into the public treasury must have assisted in doing. He was anxious to keep the dread of his power unceasingly before his great officers; and justice in civil cases was administered not by the Mufti or Qazi but by a Munsiff or Amin." Thus we see he tried to carry out two principles in his administration, the first was the centralization of authority and the second was the establishment of the political sovereignty un-

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hampered by religious or sectarian interests. That Akbar immensely profited by these activities of the first two Surs, there is no doubt. What the Mughals wanted most was to supplant the Afghan power and make their authority enduring in India. To accomplish the first, Akbar had to resort to Rajput alliance and the achievement of the second depended upon how far the dissociation of the political from the religious interest could be effected; for so long as the Islamic church-state persisted in India, it could not commend itself to the acceptance and far less to the support of the majority of their subjects, i.e. the non-Muslims. And since the Mughals were foreigners in India, they needed the support of the people more than the Afghans, to make their power enduring. Hence the state had to be divested of all its sectarian bias, and a beginning had been made in this direction by the Surs. Thus Akbar's task was facilitated. The Mughals not only got from the Surs a system of administration that admirably suited their ideal of absolute monarchy, they also got the idea of establishing a non-sectarian polity, that was calculated to perpetuate their power.

The third phase of the Mughal-Afghan struggle for supremacy opened with the death of Humayun and succession of Akbar (14th February 1556). When Humayun died Akbar was far away in the Punjab, campaigning against Sikandar Shah Sur in combination with his guardian Bairam Khan. The death of Humayun six months after his occupation of Delhi had left the Mughals in a precarious condition in Hindustan. He had not made his position secure on the Delhi throne; he had not established a government in Hindustan. He had distributed the provinces of Hindustan among his nobles no doubt, and Akbar had Hisar Firoza; Bairam Khan had Sirhind with the neighbouring districts; Shah Abul Maali, the Punjab; Tardi Beg, Mewat; Muhammad Haidar Khan, Biana; Ali Quli Saistani, Sambhal; and Sikandar Khan Uzbeg Agra; but he had not clearly defined the boundaries of provinces nor had he posted armies at their head-quarters, as he had planned. Further the Mughal nobility lacked confidence owing to his premature death and the Mughal army numbered barely 30,000 including the reinforcements from Hindustan. But this was not all. Akbar's minority and the lack of any possibility of military assistance from Kabul, that was at this time in the throes of an invasion by the ruler of Badkshan Prince Suleiman, aggravated

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the situation. And if the Mughals were thus hampered by their own unsettled condition they were harassed by a host of other factors for which they were not responsible. A series of revolts had shaken the foundations of the Sur authority and given rise to a number of claimants to the throne. Such was Sikandar Shah Sur, who though defeated by Humayun still had his hold on the Punjab and was gathering strength for a coming contest. Ibrahim Shah Sur, another claimant to the throne, had been defeated successively by Sikandar Shah and Himu, Muhammad Shah Adil's general, and had gone first to Punna and then to Malwa invited by the Afghans. He however soon disappeared from the scene, and there was one rival less for Akbar. But there was one other, more formidable than Ibrahim, and that was Himu, the powerful and victorious Hindu general of Muhammad Shah Adil, who nominally the servant of Adil Shah, was really conquering for his own interest. He had risen from the low position of a shop-keeper in Rawari in Mewat to the highest office in the state by "great and commanding talents." Of him it is said that "though his frame was so feeble that he could not ride on horse-back and even in the field was forced to be carried about in a litter or on an elephant, yet such was his spirit that he maintained stout contests with the enemies of the king and by his determined courage was victorious in many battles and achieved exploits worthy of the highest reputation." (Erskine, Vol. II). He had already won twenty-two victories for his master and now as he proceeded with 10,000 men supported by about 1500 war elephants by way of Gwalior upon Agra and Delhi, they were abandoned by the Mughals who fled to the Punjab and joined Akbar and Bairam Khan. That the Mughals should have thus abandoned their post in terror when they were expected to act with cool courage and determination, was rather ominous. Equally ominous was it for them when Himu proclaimed himself emperor of Delhi under the style of Raja Vikramajit. This spread a panic in the ranks of the Mughals who had all gathered at Sirhind. They had now to fight a king not a general. Hence, when Bairam Khan called a council of war to moot the question of fighting Himu, none seemed to approve of it. But Bairam Khan with his characteristic vigour forced his view on all and it was decided that the empire of Hindustan was worth fighting for. This resulted in the second battle of

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Panipat (5th November 1556) in which Himu was defeated and captured and Akbar got rid of his most redoubtable antagonist. He was also slain by Akbar at the instance of Bairam Khan. The victory gave Akbar Delhi and Agra and almost the whole of the Doab. The Punjab was firmly secured after the defeat and surrender of Sikandar Shah Sur at Mankot (May 1557). About this time Muhammad Shah Adil was killed in a battle with the king of Bengal (1557). Thus one after another, all the rivals of Akbar disappeared leaving him the sole occupant of the throne. The Sur dynasty had come to a tragic end, after a brief but brilliant career. But the end of the Sur dynasty did not kill Afghan opposition. It died hard in the Mughal empire and the last ebullition of it was experienced in the reign of Shahjahan. In the mighty empire of the Mughals, it took the shape of rebellion and that was all. They could never disturb the general peace and prosperity.

Akbar's reign started with the regency of Bairam Khan. The latter however masterful niggardly and sectarian, was not selfish and always tried to promote his master's cause. It was he, who after the extermination of the Afghan rivals of Akbar and the occupation of the Doab, determined to attack the Afghans in Malwa. Malwa was at this time under Baz Bahadur, the son of the trusted and capable general of Sher Shah, Sujaat Khan. Sujaat Khan had become independent during the reign of Muhammad Shah Adil and died in 1555-56. His death had been followed by trouble in Malwa, and hither had gone Ibrahim Shah Sur to fish in the troubled waters. He failed however and Baz Bahadur secured himself on the throne. He had allowed the kingdom to decline, while he indulged in sensual pleasures. No wonder that this state of affairs encouraged the Agra government to attack. In the autumn 1560, Adham Khan assisted by Pir Muhammad Khan, led an expedition and defeated Baz Bahadur near Sarangpur (1561). The victors disgraced themselves by perpetrating cruelties after their victory. Akbar's surprise visit stopped their proceedings and later on Adham Khan was recalled. Pir Muhammad Khan remained alone in charge of the affairs, and won another decisive victory and expelled Baz Bahadur beyond the Narbada. He ultimately fled to the shelter of Rana Udai Singh of Chittor and after Chittor was attacked and taken (1568) Baz Bahadur

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chose to surrender (1570-71). He was made a Mansabdar and thus the Afghan rule in Malwa came to an end.

There was one other province besides Malwa where the Afghans were yet supreme. That was Bengal. "In the time of Sher Shah, Afghan chiefs held the country; Suleiman Khan, an Afghan of the Kirani or Kararani clan being then governor of Bihar. In 1564 Suleiman occupied Gaur, the capital of the Bengal kings, and so founded a new and short-lived Bengal dynasty." (Smith's Akbar, page 123). He scrupulously avoided giving offence to Akbar. In 1568 he attacked Rohtas, which held out for the emperor. But as soon as Akbar sent an army he withdrew. He even sent valuable presents to Akbar from time to time and thus kept him in good humour. After his death in 1572, his son Daud Khan succeeded to the throne. He found a large treasure, a powerful army, composed of 140,000 infantry, 40,000 cavalry, 20,000 guns, 3600 elephants and several hundred war-boats and a rich and prosperous kingdom left behind by his father. This turned his head and he "foresook the prudent measure of his father and assuming all insignia of royalty ordered the Khutba to be proclaimed in his own name through all the towns of Bengal and Bihar and directed the coin to be stamped with his own title, thus completely setting at defiance the authority of the emperor Akbar." (Stewart's History of Bengal page 151, quoted by Smith, Akbar page 124). But Akbar busy at this time in the conquest of Gujrat would not have minded it had he not given him offence deliberately by attacking the fort Zamania, that marked the eastern frontier of the Mughal empire. As soon as Akbar heard about it he ordered Munim Khan, the governor of Jaunpur, to attack the aggressor. He did as he was bid, but failed to make an impression on the enemy. Hence Raja Todar Mall was ordered, but Akbar, who had returned from Gujrat embarked on an expedition during the height of the rains. Patna was reached in August 1574, and Akbar's presence so encouraged the imperialists that they captured Hajipur and Patna from the enemy, who next fled away into Bengal. Akbar then returned to the capital (January 1575) having ordered for a vigorous offensive against Daud, under the sole command of Munim Khan. Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Colgong and the Teliaghari passes were seized in succession, and the Mughals pursuing their advantage over-ran Bengal and drove Daud from place to place till at last they caught up with him at Tukaroi, now in the

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Balasore district of Orissa and defeated him at a decisive battle on 3rd March 1575. On the 12th April Daud made his submission and inspite of the remonstrances of Todar Mall, was granted liberal terms. He was to retain Orissa in entire independence. But, for the folly of the Khanikhana the Mughals had to pay dearly a little later. There arose rebellions in the Ghoraghat region (now in the Dinajpur district) and Munim Khan shifted his headquarters to Gaur. Soon after there prevailed a pestilential fever and he along with many others died. His death was followed by a scene of confusion amongst the Mughal officers, and taking advantage of this state of affairs Daud Khan attacked. He soon over-ran Bengal, but in the mean while Akbar had deputed Khan Jahan, Hasan Kuli Khan, Governor of the Punjab, against him. After winning a series of successes Khan Jahan met Daud at the battle of Rajmahal (July 12, 1576) and defeated and killed him. His head was sent to Akbar and with his death disappeared the independent Afghan kingdom of Bengal.

The Afghan independence disappeared no doubt, but their hostility did not. It used to rise at times, and indeed during the last days of his life Akbar was troubled by the recrudescence of Afghan pretensions in Bengal. That was the rebellion of Usman. Usman revolted about 1600 A.D. during the governorship of Man Singh. The latter, who used to stay generally at Ajmer, at once hastened to Bengal to quell the situation. The rebel had already defeated several imperial officers and occupied a large part of Bengal. Man Singh's arrival improved matters quickly and the rebel was defeated at Sherpur Atai, most decisively (1604). After that Man Singh returned to the court and was raised to the mansab of 7,000, so far reserved only for the members of the royal family. But the province did not become quiet. Usman continued to trouble the government. In the mean while Man Singh's place had been taken by Islam Khan and he inspite of his vigour had to strive several years in vain before he could crush Usman. It was on the 12th March 1612 that he met Usman at Nek Ujyal, and defeated him wounding him on the head. The wound became fatal and he expired a few hours after the battle. One after another of his leaderless followers submitted to the emperor and the situation became quiet. Jahangir adopted a policy of clemency and employed them in the Government. It is said of Jahangir that he "paid so much attention to them that they abolished all further

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treasonable designs from their mind and thought themselves bound to continue subservient and attached to him even to the sacrifice of life." (Jahangir by Beni Prasad, page 215).

But this was not to outlast Jahangir. At the start of Shah Jahan's reign there occurred another Afghan rebellion. Shortly after the coronation of Shahjahan, Khan Jahan Lodi, the viceroy of the Deccan was summoned to the court. He received the greatest consideration at the hands of the emperor but misconstrued it for a deliberate plot against him and left Agra one night without leave. He was pursued by an imperial army and flying into the Deccan made friendship with the Maratha leader Shahji and Murtza Nizam Shah II. This compelled the emperor to come in person to direct operations in the Deccan (1629) for it was a formidable combination. Within two years the allies had been worn out. Shahji deserted to the emperor and Khan Jahan was forced to fly for shelter at first to the king of Bijapur and then into Bundelkhand, whither he was hotly pursued and at last died fighting at Kalinger (1631).

This was the last Afghan rebellion in the Mughal empire. The Afghans had by now become reconciled to the Mughal rule and hence no further troubles arose. But indeed they had nourished their enmity for long and it is a little more than a century after the advent of the Mughals that Afghan hostility was completely crushed. This die-hard nature of Afghan hostility had led to the Mughal policy of conciliation towards the Rajputs.

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Akbar's Theory of Kingship

BY

Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. (Luck.), D.Litt. (Agra).

Abul Fazl in describing the origin of monarchy writes in the manner of ancient Hindu thinkers that if there were no king the strong would prey upon the weak as the fishes do in the water, and no one could be able to lead a life of peace and security. "If royalty did not exist," he says, "the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambition disappear. Mankind, being under the burden of lawlessness and lust, would sink into the pit of destruction; the world, this great market place, would lose its prosperity and the whole earth become a barren waste."[1] It is, therefore, essential that there should be a strong king. "No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty," and kingship is essential for putting an end to human selfishness, unbecoming ambition and anarchy. "A king is, therefore, the origin of stability and possession."[2] But there are kings and kings, and Abul Fazl divides them into two categories, true kings and selfish ones. Both have an army, a treasure and various other appliances of government. In the realm of a true king these are lasting, but in that of the selfish one they are transient. A true king does not have attachment of these wordly objects, and considers it to be his duty to remove oppression and provide security and good government to the people, whereas a selfish ruler considers wealth and power as the end, and neglects his duty to his people.[3] Akbar belonged to the first category.

But the great Mughal historian stops short with this account of the theory of the origin of monarchy. Unlike the ancient Hindu thinkers, he does not give any idea of a compact between the

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I (2nd ed.), p. 2.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

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people and their king, who in consequence of it, took upon himself the burden of the maintenance of law and order and the administration of equitable justice. Both the theories of the origin of kingship, namely one of divine origin and the other of a bilateral compact are discussed in detail in some of the Hindu Shastras, such as, the Manu Smrti and the Shantiparva of the Mahabharata and in other works on polity. Abul Fazl's omission is significant, but can be easily accounted for. Obviously he was not inclined to prescribe a limit on his royal patron's authority. Nevertheless, he seems to have borrowed his theory of sovereignty from the works of ancient Indian political thinkers, which contain an elaborate discussion on the necessity and origin of monarchy. The Muslim works, such as, Sulūk-us-Saltnat, Sulūk-ul-mulūk and Zakhirt-ul-mulūk, on the other hand refer to the subject in a perfunctory manner. Following the Hindu writers, Abul Fazl says that human nature being vicious in the extreme causes conflict, strife and anarchy, and if there is no just and able rule, civil life is threatened with destruction. The principal remedy of the evil from which the world suffers "is attainable only in the majesty of a just monarch."

Akbar's inheritance

In order to be able to understand Akbar's contribution to the theory of kingship, it is necessary to understand the heritage that came to him on his accession. He had inherited a complex theory of sovereignty. Though Muslim monarchs, his father and grandfather had not recognised the suzerainty of the Caliph. They had considered themselves as vicegerants of God and His shadow. His father had the presumption to consider himself semi-divine. Sher Shah and his son Islam Shah II, whose ideas and institutions naturally came to Akbar as inheritance, desired to be called Caliphs of the age. Yet since the establishment of the Muslim rule in this country to the accession of Akbar the basic principal of Islamic theory of the state—the divinity of Quranic law, the supremacy of Islam, the non-recognition of Hinduism and other Indian religions and the inferior status of the non-Musalman—had continued unimpaired. The policy of keeping Musalmans and non-Musalmans eternally divided had come to Akbar as legacy from the past. In his early days Akbar had, like his predecessors, considered it to be his duty as enjoined by the Muslim law, not only to propogate

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Islam and to convert his non-Muslim subjects to that religion, but also to persecute those Musalmans who had strayed from orthodox Sunnism. We have it on the testimony of Akbar himself that during the first few years of his reign he had indulged in the policy of converting unwilling non-Muslims to Islam. He made a confession of this in his mature years and said: "Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islam. As I grew in knowledge I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such. What constancy can be expected from proselytes on compulsion?"[4] That there was a good deal of persecution of Muslim heretics at Akbar's court is attested both by Abul Fazl and Badayuni. The latter historian, who would normally welcome persecution of unorthodox Muslims, blames the bigotted Ulema at young Akbar's court for hunting Shaikh Mubarak and his sons from place to place in a brutal attempt to have them put to death by a royal decree, as their action proved in the end disastrous to the interest of Islam.[5] The Shia-Sunni conflict during Bairam Khan's regency and for sometime after Akbar had assumed the reins of government in his own hand continued to mar the atmosphere of the Mughal court. In short Akbar's legacy, ideological and administrative, was a serious liability. It was a tremendous job to shake off the effects of an embarrassing legacy.

Why change in Akbar's ancestral theory?

Akbar's theory of sovereignty was not the result of speculation. It was not borrowed ready-made from books; nor was it taken from any theorist or an adviser. It was born out of hard facts of life and was the result of his own thought and innate practical commonsense. He had seen with concern the refractory conduct of his hereditary Muslim nobles and officers. From Shah Abul Maali to Ali Quli Uzbek entitled Khan-i-Zaman, it was a long tale of insubordination and rebellion. Akbar must have felt that he could not command the unswerving loyalty of his Mongol, Uzbek and Turkish nobility; and as far as Afghans, they were the sworn enemies of the Mughals. On the other hand, the Rajputs into whose intimate contact he had come after his marriage with

4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, (2nd ed.), p. 429.
5. Badayuni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, pp. 198-199.

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an Amber princess in February 1562 had given proof of their strong loyalty. Akbar had witnessed the strange spectacle of Rajputs fighting against their own kith and kin at the siege of Merta in February-March, 1562. These hard facts impelled the young emperor to make a departure from the traditional Muslim policy towards the Hindus in practice, though not yet in theory. The consequent result was an edict sometime about the middle of 1562 forbidding enslavement of prisoners of war and their conversion to Islam. This was followed by another important decree which abolished the pilgrims' tax on the Hindus in 1563. In March 1564, Akbar took the revolutionary step of abolishing the *jizya*, which knocked the bottom out of the foundation of the Islamic theory of discrimination against the non-Musalmans. Nevertheless he did not yet announce a formal change in the Islamic theory of kingship or even in that of the traditional system of administration. But a divergence between theory and practice could not continue for an indefinite period. Fortunately for Akbar proof after proof was furnished of the staunch Hindu, especially Rajputs, devotion in the shape of Rajputs fighting against Rajputs at Chittor (1567-1568), at Ranthambhor and Kalinjar (1569), and at Haldighati (1576), in furtherance of the interests of the Mughal empire. On the contrary, rebellion after rebellion of his Muslim officers occurred almost continuously during the period. Akbar's brother-in-law Mirza Sharf-ud-din revolted in 1562 and joined hands with Shah Abul Maali, and his paternal uncle Khwaja Muazzam displayed contumacy and defiance in 1564. Abdullah Khan Uzbek, governor of Malwa, rebelled in 1564, and other Uzbeks followed his example in 1565. Mirza Hakim invaded the Punjab the same year, and a prolonged rebellion of the Mirzas for years disturbed the peace of the country. In view of these hard realities Akbar swung both in theory and practice in the direction of religious toleration and in 1576 Abul Fazl gave an indication of a change for the first time in his master's theory of kingship.

Replacement of Islamic Theory by one of secular Sovereignty.

The enunciation of Akbar's theory of kingship made by Abul Fazl on behalf of his sovereign for the first time in 1567 was revolutionary in character inasmuch as it repealed the Islamic theory of sovereignty by laying down that one of the essentials of kingship was to "inaugurate universal peace (religious toleration)" and "to regard all classes of men and all sects of religion with

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the single eye of favour and not be mother to some and be step-mother to others." It also deprecated the theory of race, birth and blood of Balban and other Albari Turks, and that of hereditary birth-right believed in by Changiz Khan, Timur and Babar. These factors were no doubt important, but not essential. Some other essentials of sovereignty, according to Akbar, were magnanimity, lofty benevolence, ability, character, rectitude, justice, etc., (which Akbar's brother Mirza Hakim did not possess), besides its being a gift from God. Abul Fazl's narration, though lengthy deserves to be quoted: "Kingship is a gift of God and is not bestowed till many thousand grand requisites have been gathered together in an individual. Race and wealth and the assembling of a mob are not enough for this great postition. It is clear to the wise that a few among the holy qualities (requisite) are magnanimity, lofty benevolence, wide capacity, abundant tolerance, exalted understanding, innate graciousness, natural courage, justice, rectitude, strenuous labour, proper conduct, profound thoughtfulness, laudable overlooking (of offences), and acceptance of excuses. And with all those notes of perfection, of which a few out of many are mentioned in detail in the ancient books of ripe philosophers, so long as the subject of such encomiums has not wisdom sufficient to *overpower improper desires and unbecoming anger*, he cannot be fit for this lofty office. And on coming to the exalted dignity if he does not inaugurate universal peace (toleration) and if he does not regard all classes of men, and all sects of religion, with the single eye of favour—and not be mother to some and be step-mother to others—he will not become fit for the exalted dignity. Thanks be to God, The holy personality of the Shahinshah is a fount of perfect qualities, and a mine of holy principles. Volumes would not be sufficient to describe the glories of the Lord of the universe. How can an incidental reference be sufficient? Give all that thou hast, and purchase eyes, and behold the world-adorning qualities of our spiritual and temporal king so that thou mayest know what is kingship and what is the meaning of sovereignty?"[6]

Abolition of the power of the Muslim clergy

The next step undertaken by Akbar was the abolition, in theory and practice, of the privilege the Muslim clergy had en-

6. *A.N.*, Vol. II, p. 285; *Eng. Tr.*, Vol. II, p. 421.

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joyed of interpreting the law, both religious and constitutional. It was a corollary of the rejection of the Islamic theory of the State. The enunciation of a new theory so radically different from the Islamic concept of sovereignty made it necessary to clip the power of the ulema and remove the check they had exercised on the royal authority. This traditional check, exercised since the establishment of Muslim rule in this country, was effective, and the ulema were not inclined to give up the privilege. They were an influential body, and Akbar had, in his early days, great regard for their leaders. But the exercise of authority by them was incompatible with the new theory of kingship, which was based on the principle of a common and uniform citizenship and equality of and toleration for all faiths. Hence, Akbar, on the advice of Shaikh Mubarak, issued, in August-September, 1579, a proclamation called *Mahzar*,[7] which emphasised his right to choose any one of the divergent views of the Muslim jurists on a controversial matter, religious or secular, and to promulgate a law provided it was in consonence with a verse of the Quran. But in both cases it must be conducive to the best interest of the State and that of the people. This decree did not place Akbar above the Muslim law; it only authorised him to issue ordinances that were not incompatible with the Quranic law and the good of the people. It nevertheless enabled the emperor to brush aside the control that the ulema had so far exercised on his authority, and it paved the way for the replacement of the Muslim law (*Shar'*) by what Abul Fazl calls divine will as manifested in the intuition of the emperor.

Akbar's theory of Divine Origin

Like some of the prominent ancient Kshatriya families and their modern Rajput descendants who traced their origin to the sun and the moon, Akbar claimed to have descended from the sun through his celebrated female progenitor, Ālanquwa, and, therefore, his theory of divine origin was akin to that of many of his contemporary Rajput chiefs, such as the Sisodias of Mewar, the Rathors of Marwar and the Kachhwahas of Amber. His belief in his being the shadow of God, had, therefore, greater significance

7. *T.A.*, Vol. II, pp. 345-346; *M.T.*, Vol. II, pp. 271-272; *M.R.*, Vol. I, pp. 866-867.

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than that of Balban, Sher Shah and other former Muslim rulers of India. It is difficult to say whether Babar had shared his grandson's belief in his descent from the sun, but Humayun did think himself to have been the centre of the human world as the sun was that of the universe. Ālanquwa was the daughter of Juina Bahadur of the Qiyat tribe and of the Qurulas family and a widow of Zūbūn Biyān, king of Mughulsitan (Mongolistan). One night "a glorious light cast a ray into the tent and entered the mouth and throat of that fount of spiritual knowledge (Ālanquwa) and she became pregnant by that light in the same way as did Hazarat Mariyam (Mary)."[8] The descendents of Ālanquwa's three sons were called "Nairūn, i.e. light-produced, and were considered to be the noblest class among the Mughals."[9] Changiz Khan was born in this very family of the Nairuns. Abul Fazl is of the opinion that Akbar descended through Ālanquwa from this light of the sun. He pointedly writes that "that divine light after passing without human instrumentality, through many eminent saints and sovereigns, displayed itself gloriously in the external world. That day (viz., Ālanquwa's conception) was the beginning of the manifestation of his Majesty, the king of kings (Akbar) who after passing through diverse stages was revealed to the world from the holy womb of her Majesty Mariam Makani for the accomplishment of things visible and invisible."[10]

Moreover like the ancient kings of Persia Akbar believed that the fortune of kings was linked with the sun, the illuminator of the world. "A special grace," he said, "proceeds from the sun in favour of kings, and for this reason they pray and consider it a worship of the Almighty, but the short-sighted are thereby scandalized."[11] And that was why Akbar revered the sun and the light. He said, "To light a candle is to commemorate the (rising of) the sun. To whomsoever the sun sets, what other remedy hath he but this."[12]

8. *A.N.*, Vol. I. p. 65; *Eng. Tr.*, Vol. I, p. 179.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 67; *Eng. Tr.* Vol. I, 183.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 65; *Eng. Tr.* Vol. I, p. 180.
11. *Ain.*, Vol. III (2nd edn.), p. 435.
12. *Ain.*, Vol. III, (2nd ed.), p. 443.

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It will be clear from the above that Akbar's belief in the theory of his divine origin was substantial. Abul Fazl's enunciation that 'royalty is a light emanating from God and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe.....," when read in the above context, reveals clearly the dual meaning of Akbar's theory of divine origin of kingship.

Qualifications of Abul Fazl's king

Abul Fazl echoes the ancient legists of India in describing the virtues that a king ought to possess. He tells us that Akbar was endowed with all those and many other virtues. In a discourse written on the occasion of the failure of Muzaffar III's futile attempt to regain Gujarat in 1584 he says: "Many wished-for things come together also in the houses of tradesmen, but they are not the materials of power and grandeur. That is a ray from the divine halo, and it comes not into the hands by striving." Elaborating his thesis on the qualifications of a king he writes: "Many laudable qualifications must unite in a son of man before he can be fit for the diadem of ruler and be a suitable throne-occupant." These virtues, besides those referred to by the historian in 1587 are: sublime intelligence; impartial justice, making no difference between relations and strangers; God-given courage; capacity for hard work; magnanimity; wide toleration; uniform treatment of and protection to all his subjects, irrespective of race and creed; love of humanity; the habit of bringing choice deliberation to bear upon work; freedom from unbecoming desires and passions; association with men of ability, character and rectitude, and consultation with them; freedom from the evil habit of being led by others.[13] Similar virtues are prescribed for the Hindu kings in the ancient Indian Shastras.[14]

Final Exposition of Akbar's theory of Kingship

In summing up in a systematic manner his ideas of Akbar's theory of kingship, scattered at many places in the pages of his Akbar Nama, Abul Fazl writes in his preface to the Ain-i-Akbari: "Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of per-

13. *A.N.*, Vol. III, pp. 452-453; *Eng. Tr.*, Vol. III, pp. 680-681.
14. *Manu Smriti*, VII, pp. 37-52, also pp. 14-24; *Kautilya*, pp. 11-12.

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fection, the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls this light *farr-i-izidi* (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it *Kiyan Khura* (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of any one, and men, in the presence of it, bend the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission."[15] Those who are gifted with this light possess numerous qualities which resolve themselves into four heads: (1) a paternal love towards the subjects; (2) a large heart; (3) a daily increasing trust in God; (4) prayer and devotion.[16]

Implementation of the theory

Akbar's new theory of kingship was not a copy-book maxim. He took it seriously and did his best to live up to it. In a letter dated August 1586 he wrote to Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the ruler of Trans-Oxiana, that he had "ever kept before his eyes the truth that all this autocracy and world-rule, all this sword-bearing and clime-conquering, are for the purpose of *shepherding and for doing the work of watch and ward;* not for the amassing of treasure of gold and silver, or for decorating the throne and diadem, or for letting one's feet halt in the mud of transitory pleasures, or for sinking the head into the collar of unstable desires. Hence there has ever been naught but goodness and goodwill towards friend and foe, kinsman and stranger. There hath been a constant stirring towards the soothment of mortals, whether high or low, and for graciousness to men of the age, whether anear or afar ....."[17] He adds that "in accordance with the principle 'Do good as God doth good to thee'," he has been devoting his "energies towards promulgating the laws of kindness, the laying the foundations of justice, the spreading of the lights of benevolence and the irrigating of the gardens and men's hopes and peace ....."[18] He wrote to Shah Abbas of Persia at the end of 1594: "The sections of mankind, who are a Divine deposit and treasure, *must be regarded with the glance of affection, and efforts must be made to conciliate their hearts. It must be considered that the Divine mercy attaches itself to every form of creed, and supreme exertions must be made*

15. *Ain.*, Vol. I, (2nd ed.), p. 3.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *A.N.*, Vol. III, pp. 497-498; *Eng. Tr.*. Vol. III, p. 755.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 499; *Eng. Tr.*, Vol. III, p. 757.

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to bring oneself into the ever vernal flower-gardens of peace with all. The increase of one's good fortune must always be kept in full view, for the eternal God is bounteous to all souls and conditions of men. Hence it is fitting that kings, who are shadow of Divinity, should not cast away this principle."[19] He concluded by adding that "one must exercise wide toleration and knock at the door of inspection, for in this way will the veil be removed from the wide extent of spiritualities and temporalities, and there will be ample life and fortune."[20]

In 1598, Akbar wrote to the ruler of Trans-Oxiana: "Clearly, there is no nobler thing in the outward universe and social state than Love and Harmony, for the due ordering of the classes of human beings is linked and bound up therewith. Whenever this idea is manifested in the ranks of sovereigns—who are pillars of the courts of Majesty—it shall assuredly be fruitful of blessings, and procreant of beauties here and hereafter. By it thousands of souls and tribes shall take their rest in the cradle of safety!" He concluded by saying that since his accession his aim "has been to disregard his own interests, and to work always for the healing and ordering of man-kind".[21]

Akbar's belief in universal sovereignty

Although Akbar had completely identified himself with India and her people, yet, like his ancestors Changiz Khan and Timur, he conceived the idea of a world empire. He was ambitious of acquiring the whole of South India and thereafter to conquer Central Asia, Turkey and Arabia. His plan was to proceed to Khurasan and Iraq and from there to lead an expedition to Samarkand and Khotan. Next he wanted to measure swords with the Sultan of Turkey, whom he looked upon as his greatest rival. He did not tolerate the reading of the Khutba in the name of the Sultan of Turkey at Macca and Madina. That was why in his scheme of conquest he gave Arabia an important place. With this object in view he proposed an alliance between himself and the king of Portugal against the Sultan of Turkey. He was also

19. *A.N.*, Vol. III, pp. 659-660.
20. *A.N.*, Vol. III, p. 660; *Eng. Tr.*, Vol. III, pp. 1012-1013.
21. *A.N.*, Vol. III, pp. 705-707; *Eng. Tr.*, Vol. III, pp. 1054-1057.

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keen to establish friendly relations with the Pope and with the king of Spain. The policy of one world and one sovereign as opposed to the multiplicity of states was conceived by Akbar as early as 1574. "The wise and judicious who understand the spirit of the age have said," writes Abul Fazl, "that if this civilised world, which has been split up owing to the inattention of the great souls, were under one able and just ruler of extensive capacity the dust of dissension would assuredly be laid and mortals find repose. Hence it is that the adorner of fortune's parterre in our age (Akbar) is continually engaged in the conquest of other countries."[22]

The scheme of the conquest of Central Asia, Arabia and Turkey remained a paper scheme. Nevertheless it is a tribute to Akbar's political idealism that he could conceive the idea of a world government in the 16th century.

Akbar's theory of kingship essentially Indian

An analysis of Akbar's theory of kingship shows that it was a synthesis of three streams of thought—the Mughal, the Muslim and the Hindu—but in the synthesis the Mughal and Hindu ideas predominated. Firstly, the concept of the inauguration of universal peace and of transcending the bounds of sectarian differences is borrowed directly from the Hindu idea. The Muslim monarch was tied to the Quranic law; he was bound not only to maintain the supremacy of Islam and to propagate the Muslim religion but also to perpetuate the eternal difference between the Muslims and the non-Muslims in his dominion. Abul Fazl's king, on the other hand, had faith in the divine will, which manifested itself in his intuition, not in the Muslim shar', and he was not to persecute anyone for holding different religious views. Although himself deeply religious, Akbar was the head of a political society, and his duty was to work for the spiritual as well as social and material well-being of his people, irrespective of their race, caste and creed. Secondly, Akbar firmly believed, as has been shown above, in the theory of his divine origin, which, though borrowed from his Mongol ancestors, was very much akin to that of the Hindus and particularly, to that believed in by his contemporary Rajput allies.

22. *A.N.*, Vol. III, p. 87; *Eng. Tr.*, Vol. III, p. 122.

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Thirdly, Akbar's theory ruled out the necessity of his seeking guidance from the letter or precept of any particular religious law or the rulings of any particular group of legists or jurists. He considered himself to be above the Muslim law or the law of any other religion or community. The idea of universal sovereignty might have been borrowed from both the Hindu and Muslim sources. The Muslims believed in a universal empire and world-sovereignty. The Hindus too, since most ancient times, had their faith in the Chakravartin ideal which suggested a universal monarchy. Thus Akbar's idea of universal sovereignty might have been influenced both by Hindu and Islamic political ideals. In one respect Akbar's theory was derived from the Islamic concept of sovereignty. It believed in the unity of leadership, secular and religious. In other words, it envisaged the vesting of religious and secular sovereignty in one and the same person. It was against dual authority, for as Abul Fazl writes "so long as the spiritual supremacy over the recluse which is called 'holiness' and the sway over laymen which is called 'sovereignty,' were distinct, there was strife and confusion among the children of Noah."[23]

It must be said in conclusion that Akbar's theory of kingship was one of benevolent, and to a great extent even enlightened, despotism. He believed with the Prussian King Frederick the Great of the 18th century Germany that he was the first servant of the people, and that it was his duty to think and work hard for their welfare. In fact his idealism surpassed that of Frederick inasmuch as he believed that no religious worship was better than the service of the people. It was his firm conviction that in discharging his duty by the people he was performing an act of divine worship. The theory was acclaimed by the people (except a small group of Sunni fanatics), and its practical application gave India peace and unity, progress and prosperity.

23. Quoted in Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, pp. 139-140.

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Akbar

BY

M. Mujeeb

The Delhi sultanate disintegrated in the fourteenth century, and after considerable conflict, the Lodies (1451-1526) emerged as the strongest power in north India. They were not strong enough in organisation and resources to establish themselves firmly, and Babar, with a small army but new tactics of warfare, was able to overwhelm the Lodi kingdom. Babar himself did not live long enough to lay a sufficiently strong foundation for the Mughal power, and his son Humayun reigned longer outside his kingdom (1540-1555) than inside it (1530-1540 and 1555-56). He was driven out by Sher Shah Suri (1540-1545), who was a remarkable statesman, general and administrator, and occupies a place of high honour in Indian Muslim history in spite of his very brief reign. His successors proved unworthy of their heritage and Humayun was able to return and recover what he had lost.

One of the desparate measures Humayun took when he was fleeing from his kingdom in 1541 was to marry Hamida Banu, the daughter of the spiritual preceptor of his brother Hindal. A son, named Akbar, was born to him at Umarkot, in Sind, in 1542, when he was suffering all the privations of a refugee in flight. Perhaps this brought a gleam of joy to an incompetent man in distress, and it is easy to read an auspicious character into the event. But Akbar's birth must no doubt have added to his father's worries, and his survival was as much due to accident as to the care of the ladies of the haram and in particular to the devotion of his nurse, Maham Anga. We would expect a child brought up in an atmosphere of uncertainty to be weak, selfish and treacherous, or hard, wilful and opportunistic, knowing that he had to make his way through life as one crosses a turbulent stream. Forces were at work that could develop in Akbar qualities of the one or the other type. But he grew up to be himself, not a creature of circumstances. He was in boyhood impatient of 'the usual apparatus of

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learning' and preferred riding and hunting and manly exercises to the acquisition of literacy. He came to the throne in 1556, when he was a little over thirteen, and Bairam Khan kept him under his tutelage for about four years. He was a darling of the ladies, who married him to his uncle Hindal's daughter when he was only fifteen.

Akbar was a king 'through his grandfather and father', and had the most loyal of his father's men to look after the affairs of his 'kingdom'. But he had little else. Sikandar Sur in the Panjab, Himu at Delhi and Agra, Adali at Chunar were determined to cross swords with him; and the winner would not win much. For Sher Shah's empire had disintegrated completely, and whoever aspired to possess it would have to conquer it afresh for himself. Sikandar Sur and Adali were not empire-builders, Himu was brave and ambitious, with a larger army than any of his rivals. But whether he had the gifts of statesmanship was not known, and it was doubtful how long his Muslim supporters would remain loyal to him. As it turned out, he was mortally wounded and his army dispersed at Panipat (5th Nov. 1556), Sikandar could not collect sufficient forces for a decisive battle, and Adali lost his life fighting another rival. Akbar's future now depended entirely on his ability to make use of his chances. His character developed and unfolded itself rapidly. He cut himself loose from his tutelage in 1560, and soon asserted himself against his foster-brothers and their supporters in the haram. By 1562 he was firm in the saddle.

The course of Akbar's conquests and annexations followed the old and strategically inevitable pattern. His armies marched along the trade-routes eastwards and southwards. Gwalior (1556), Malwa (1561), Chunar (1561), the Gond Kingdom (1564), Chittor (1568), Ranthambor (1569), Kalinjar (1569), Gujarat (1572), Surat (1573), Bihar (1574), Bengal (1576), which constituted the Sur empire, were conquered by him. An expedition had to be sent against the Gakkhars in the northwest in 1563. With Kabul, Qandahar and Herat, these territories formed a considerable dominion. But the expansion continued. To the north, Kashmir was annexed in 1586, to the west, Sind, in 1590, to the east, Orissa, in 1592. In the Deccan, Berar was ceded to Akbar in 1596, Gawilgarh and Narnala were conquered in 1598, Ahmadnagar in 1600,

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and the fortress of Asirgarh in 1601. But it would be wrong to imagine that Akbar spent all his life fighting, or that he hungered after more and more territory. The kingdoms he annexed were not, and some could not remain, orderly and independent. They were pools left over by the drying up of the central source of authority, and they vanished with the revival of the source.

Akbar's rule did not begin, like Ala'uddin Khilji's, with an original sin. There were rebellions and misdemeanours among his officers, but they did not have a fatal character. Akbar had a better opportunity than any of the Indian Muslim rulers before him to concentrate on strengthing the administration, improving its procedure and introducing changes that would reinforce the whole structure of the state. Sher Shah, who was a master-builder, had just preceded him, and his own character and personality were entirely suited to the task. He was extremely conscientious, devoting about twenty hours daily to the performance of his duties. He was strict in judging the work of his subordinates, and while not inclined to punish them for their mistakes and even anxious not to hurt them, he seldom failed to make changes when and where they appeared to be necessary. His reforms make it obvious that he was fully aware of the problems of administration, and was both determined and patient in his search for solutions. We may discount the praise bestowed on him by his biographer, Abul Fazl, as we must ignore the thrusts made at his character and ideas by Badauni, but it is quite apparent that Akbar was able to arouse in a large number of his advisers and officers sentiments of loyalty that amounted to dedication to his person and his ideals. For it is clear that Akbar was a man of ideals, and the noblest aspect of these was a sincere and fervent desire that men should be just and considerate towards each other. His statesmanship was an expression of personal ambition. He could not cultivate loyalty towards the state without making it a sentiment of loyalty to himself. But there was a deep, altruistic, mystical element in what constitutes his life's endeavour, and if we bear in mind the prejudices, the shortsightedness, the unsocial habits of thought and action that he had to encounter, Akbar will appear to us not only as one of the greatest of rulers but also one of the most admirable and lovable of men.

The Mughals inherited and maintained the structure of the government as it was under the sultanate. Under Bairam Khan

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the office of the Wakil-i-Sultanate became very much like that of a Malik Na'ib who exercised the powers of the king on his behalf, but after his removal in 1560 it was shorn of all its power and, therefore, became just a high title. The position of the other ministers vis-a-vis the ruler did not change. The emperor could appoint and dismiss ministers at will, he was not bound to consult them or follow their advice, and he could invite anyone he liked when he took counsel. The division of functions among the ministers also depended on the emperor's discretion, but we observe that the Mir Bakshi, the counterpart of the Ariz-i-mamalik of the sultanate, was assigned functions that were civil in nature, as jagirs and mansabs were given through him, and apart from being in charge of the army organisation, he became also the head of the civil service. The procedure for the issue of orders and the execution of decisions became more intricate and the balance of power as between ministers and departments more elaborate. But as the emperors were consistently anxious to fulfil their routine duties, action could be taken, when necessary, with quite remarkable promptitude.

The great change made by Akbar in the royal routine was to appear at sunrise for the Jharoka darshan.[1] The purpose of this was to provide the people direct access to the ruler, eliminating the delays in the normal procedure and also enabling a case to be brought before him which might otherwise have been suppressed or shelved by interested parties at the court. There was always a multitude of people coming to behold the royal person, but we must not imagine that there was a rush to place all sorts of matters before the emperor. Those who adopted this course took some inevitable risk, for if there was not sufficient reason for their not following the usual procedure they were more likely to suffer than to gain by taking it.

In the administration, the different types of service were unified and systematised in the form of 'mansabs', each of which was distinguished by the 'Zat' and 'sawar' attached to it. The lowest mansab was 10 horse, and there was what might be called an efficiency bar for the lowest grades at 400 horse, after which the

1. Appearance of the Emperor at the jharoka or projecting balcony, in order that people might see him.

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mansab holder was called 'Amir'. Those mansabdars whose families had been in the imperial service for more than two generations began to be called 'khanzadas', and became an important force within the service. What is notable in this system is the promotion, which fell due annually and which the low-grade mansabdar could hope to get even if he had no particular talent or influence. In the higher mansabs the rise would be exceptional as well as normal, but even here those who desired could opt for a career not disturbed by the success or failure of ambitious designs. The system of mansabs was introduced in 1573, and probably Akbar's intention was to pay the salaries of all mansabs in cash, because this was done to begin with. But six years later the method of giving assignments of land was restored.

An examination of the changes made in the Diwans shows that "during the period of about forty-two years, there were ten diwans. who held the office in turn, and at times as colleagues with one another.... There was no fixed period for the office. The changes were made in accordance with the needs of the time or the death of the office-holder".[2] There were rivalries and quarrels that sorely tried Akbar's patience, Raja Todar Mal in particular being both jealous and ill-tempered, but it was possible nonetheless to inspire officers with the confidence that outstanding work done by them would be recognised that their mistakes would not be punished too severely and that removal from an office would not disqualify them permanently. The office of the Mir Bakshi was eqaul in dignity and responsibility to that of the chief diwan, there seem to have been only four Mir Bakhshis appointed during Akbar's reign. Khwaja Shah Mansur was the only diwan who was executed, but that was on grounds of high treason. Akbar was filled with deep regret when he found that the evidence had been insufficient. There does not seem to have been any other instance of an officer being executed for a political offence during Akbar's long reign. He seems, in fact, to have evolved a system of graded punishments. He rebuked his ministers, advisers and officers if they said or did something he did not like. More serious mistakes or lapses led to continued displeasure. An officer in a

2. Ibn Hasan, Central Structure of the Moghal Empire, p. 167. Oxford University Press, 1936.

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province who was guilty of mismanagement or injustice was recalled to the court, and transferred elsewhere if it appeared that he would change his ways. If he was suspected of disloyalty he was kept under surveillance. A form of demotion was to post an officer in Bengal. If an officer was too senior in the service to be punished even in these ways and could not be retained in service, he was asked to perform the pilgrimage.

The most vexatious problem was that of land revenue. In 1566 Akbar resumed all assignments and grant of land, because in course of time the value of assignments had become fictitious, the productivity of the land and the market price of the produce both being calculated on the basis of statements that were long out of date. Akbar had all the land measured and revalued, and made a series of experiments in the methods of assessing and collecting land revenue. The state's share was fixed at one-third of the produce, and this was determined by calculating the average yield of every crop grown in the country, and then it was converted into cash rates representing one-third of the average yield for ten years. The system "operated, on the one hand, to increase the peasant's interest in the success of his undertaking and, on the other, to minimise seasonal fluctuations in the imperial revenue, and while it did not amount to the establishment of a regular system of rents, it marks a definite step towards the transformation of the peasant into what is known as the cash-paying tenant".[3]

The most memorable feature of Akbar's rule is the attempt at an emotional integration of the Indian people. This has been judged by most writers of his own time and of today on the basis of their own predilections and prejudices, and a number of misunderstandings have to be cleared before we can form a correct idea of Akbar's real objectives.

We must assume that Akbar was not a statesman who would deliberately undermine the basis of his own authority. He must have known that he could rule only as a Muslim, and as the leader of a minority that was in power. In spite of all the loyalty he had been able to cultivate, not only mischievous but even wise and sincere people were inclined to challenge his proclamation that

3. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, pp. 99-100.

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the Just King is higher in status than the ulama. On the other hand, though he was sure that he could find Rajput princes who would support him to the limit, Rana Pratap of Mewar had proved himself to be a bitter and uncompromising opponent, and Akbar could depend on Rajput princes no more than he could on the Muslim amirs. It is preposterous to imagine that he would please his Hindu subjects by contracting marriage relationships with Rajput princely families. In fact, they must have resented this. But Hidus who associated themselves with the Muslims lost their caste, and Raja Bihari Mal, when he married his daughter to Akbar, must have felt that in this way he would acquire in the Mughal court a status that would compensate for what he had lost in the eyes of his own people.[4] It was not Akbar who demanded but Raja Bihari Mal who desired the alliance. And Akbar, whatever his relations with the Rajputs, would have had to be very cautious in giving high offices to Hindus, as this would be a sure means of alienating his Muslim officers and supporters. He could balance the Indian with the foreign element among his officers, but using Hindus against Muslims would have been a transparent device. Akbar was not pro-Hindu or pro-Iranian. He faced facts and selected his officers on the basis of merit; and his confidence in persons was seldom misplaced.

Since contemporary and later opinion has had a Muslim or an anti-Muslim bias, Akbar's views in regard to religious and social reform have been generally misunderstood. The prevailing misconceptions can be attributed to three sources, (1) the account of Badauni, who was a contemporary but whose judgments were vitiated by an obvious relish for sarcasm and malicious exaggeration, (2) the general opinion that there is no intermediate stage between orthodoxy and free thinking or, in the language of theology, between true belief and heresy, and (3) the formation of an inner circle of fervent loyalists who were extravagant in disparaging all that Akbar did not approve. As a result, Akbar is made to appear as an apostate who made a half-hearted attempt to establish a new religion.

4. The marriage took place early in 1562, when Akbar could not have risked imposing his will in this particular way on a fairly powerful Rajput ruler.

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Bada'uni was an orthodox Sunni who seems to have found emotional satisfaction in bewailing or castigating the sinfulness or errors of those who deviated from the true path. He has never a kind word to say about the official representatives of orthodoxy, Maulana Abdullah Sultanpuri and Shaikh Abdunnabi. He ridicules mystics and also praise them. He abuses the Shiahs. He abhors all non-Muslim beliefs. He is careful, when mentioning what he considers to be Akbar's innovations, to give prominence to those that would most offend Muslim sentiment, some of which he dates by giving the chronogram, "Kufr shaya shud", "Kufr was propagated."[5] It would be unsafe to regard Badauni as consistent, or to take him at his word when he is writing in a spiteful vein. Unfortunately, his translators have made the confusion worse by reading their own views into the text. A few examples will show what difference this can make.

"Hence His Majesty cast aside the Islamitic revelations regarding resurrection, the day of judgement and the details connected with it, as also all ordinances based on the traditions of our prophet. He listened to every abuse which the courtiers heaped on our glorious and pure faith, which can be so easily followed; and eagerly seizing such opportunities, he showed in words and gestures, his satisfaction at the treatment which his original religion received at their hands."[6]

The text[7] in fact says:

"And they set aside resurrection, judgement and other related matters and traditions, the source of which is the lamp of the Prophet, and (his) associates were constantly repeating (to him) the censures and sharp attacks on the simple and pure, firm and noble faith, of which some are mentioned in the eminent books on metaphysics, and tempted and prompted (him) with the tongue of knowledge and the heart[8] to follow their path."

"Soon after, the observance of the five prayers and the fasts, and the belief in everything connected with the Prophet were put

5. Vol. II, p. 304.
6. Blochmann, *A'in-i-Akbari*, p. 180.
7. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 257.
8. That is, after the manner both of intellectuals and mystics.

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down as 'taqlidi', or religious blindness, and man's reason was acknowledged as the basis of all religion."[9]

The correct translation would be: "Soon after, the observance of the five prayers and the fasts, and everything important was put down as 'taqlidi', that is, not based on reason, and they (or His Majesty) made faith depend on reason, and not written tradition".[10]

Badauni's statement that wearing gold (ornaments) and silk became an absolute duty[11] has been translated: "Wearing of gold ornaments and silk dresses at the time of prayer were considered obligatory".[12] "Prayer and fasting and pilgrimage had themselves already become obsolete"[13] has been rendered by Blochmann as "The prayers of Islam, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden".[14] It is only too easy to misinterpret Badauni if the translator has already decided for himself that Akbar had resolved to uproot Islam.

But with all his bitterness and extravagance, Badauni can also be fair and objective, and a reasonable statement of Akbar's religious attitude can be pieced together from his account.

"And very often his nights were enlivened with the praise of the Glorious God and repetition of His names, "Ya Huwa" and "Ya Hadi", about which he had been instructed, and his heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true Giver. From a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes, he would sit many a morning alone in prayers and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lonely spot, sunk in deep thought and gathering the bliss of the early hours".[15] This was an early phase. Then came the clash with the fanaticism and crude behaviour of Maulana Abdullah Sultanpuri and Shaikh Abdunnabi. One of the first questions to be brought up when Akbar began religious discussions at the court was the number

9. Blochmann, *A'in*, p. 175.
10. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 211.
11. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 306.
12. Blochmann, *A'in*, p. 204.
13. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 306.
14. Blochmann, *A'in*, p. 204.
15. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 200 ff.

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of free-born women a man could marry. He had spoken privately to Shaikh Abdunnabi about it, and the Shaikh had satisfied him by saying that there was a difference of opinion among lawyers on this point. But in the public discussion the ulama said that a man could not marry more than four freeborn women. Akbar had exceeded this limit, and he was much perturbed. He felt, quite justifiably, that the ulama of the court should either have told him at the proper time that he was doing something not permitted by the shariah,[16] or should now advise him as to what he should do to regularise his marriages.[17] They had obviously betrayed him, and were now passing judgement on his action while being themselves guilty of neglect of duty.[18] Akbar could do nothing about the law on which their judgment was based, and it was natural, therefore, that he should look for sincere and upright people and for a more reasonable attitude towards law and religion. He was not fooled or easily persuaded. Speaking of false pretenders, Badauni says that a large number of Shaikhs and faqirs were sent by Akbar to Qandahar, "where they were exchanged for horses", and members of a sect known as the Ilahis were sent to Bhakkar and Qandahar, to be given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts.[19] The preaching of the Jesuit missionaries made no impression upon Akbar, and the Shiah ulama, though their refinement was a striking contrast to the boorishness of the official ulama, also failed to convert him. But a large number of learned men of all religions and sects came from various countries to the court, and Akbar discussed questions with them personally. He listened to everyone, and selected what seemed to him significant. Thus, "the vague outline of a faith traced itself on the mirror of his heart and the treasury of his ideas."[20] He had found deeply spiritual men professing different religions and could not accept the view that truth was to be found exclusively in Islam. About

16. We must remember that Shaikh Abdunnabi had great influence on Akbar.

17. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 207.

18. Apparently the ulama thought that it was not their business to look to the spiritual welfare of the king. They were concerned primarily with their own right to declare the law.

19. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 299.

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 256.

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the same time he came under the influence of a sufi, Shaikh Taj-uddin, who was a believer in immanence, or wahdah al-wujud,[21] and must have given Akbar an indication of the unlimited horizons of Islamic belief. "Other great philosophical writers of the age expressed opinions for which there is no authority....".[22]

Badauni has no scruples about passing strictures on opinions expressed lightly and flippantly[23] and confusing them with genuine beliefs, but his basic objection to Akbar's attitude was that he "assigned to theories the validity of self-evident truths".[24] The fundamental question which Akbar and the thoughtful men around him set out to answer was, "Have the religions and the worldly tendencies of men no common ground"?.[25] They attempted an answer. It was not binding on any one to accept this answer as correct. Shahbaz Khan, the Bakhshi, roundly abused Bir Bal in Akbar's presence for talking disrespectfully about Islam,[26] Mir Fathullah, "even in the state-hall said, with the greatest composure his Shiah prayers",[27] and Man Singh openly told Akbar that he would become a Mussalman if he was so commanded by his sovereign, but saw no reason otherwise for reconsidering his inherited beliefs.[28] While it may have been true that "people who had sold their religion were busy collecting all kinds of exploded errors, and brought them as if they were so many presents",[29] Akbar was tolerant of all those who did not share his spiritual unrest or agree with the view that an enlightened civic attitude needed to be given a religious colour.

It was different, however, with what Akbar deemed to be necessary in the interests of political and emotional integration and with customs that appeared to him cruel, unjust or harmful. He

21. "Which Idle sufis will talk about, and which generally leads them to denial of the law and open heresy". *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 258.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 256 ff.
23. Such as, for example, on p. 305. Vol. II.
24. Vol. II, p. 257.
25. Blochmann, *A'in*, p. 162.
26. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 273-74.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 364.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

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knew that the Muslim practice of meat-eating, and still more of sacrificing cows created a gulf between the Muslims and the Hindus that could not be bridged, and he used both his personal influence and his political authority to reduce the eating of meat and to prohibit cow-sacrifice. He abolished the jizyah in 1564. Intermarriages were forbidden.[30] "Hindus who, in childhood or otherwise, had from pressure become mussalmans, were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers. No one should be interfered with on account of his religion, and everyone should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked".[31] A secular attitude was adopted to the extent that the practice of saying prayers five times a day in the court was given up.[32]

Such changes would have been most unwelcome to the Muslims, but only those who identified Islam with its jurisprudence could say that Akbar was in the wrong. The same held true of reforms in Muslim customs. Akbar prohibited the marriage of boys before the age of sixteen, and of girls before they were fourteen, and marriages between cousins and near relations.[33] "No one was to marry more than one wife, except in case of barrenness..... If widows liked to remarry, they should not be prevented".[34] Such decrees would be difficult to enforce under any government unless the public gave its full cooperation, and Akbar could not have had any considerable success. But they are an indication of what he held to be the reasonable attitude. He would

30. "If a Hindu woman fall in love with a Muslim and change her religion, she should be taken from him by force and given back to her family" (Badauni, Vol. II, p. 391). The "*Dabistan-i-Madhahib*" adds, "but so should a Mussalman woman, who had fallen in love with a Hindu, be prevented from joining Hinduism" (p. 328. Nawal Kishore Press, Kanpur). The story of Sayyid Musa and Mohini, a goldsmith's daughter, shows that a marriage between a Muslim and a Hindu was almost impossible under ordinary circumstances, even when both parties were willing. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 109 ff.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 391. But "Shaikh Bhawan, a learned Brahman from the land of the Deccan, having willingly and of his own inclination, received the honour of (conversion to) Islam, was included among the close associates" (*Ibid.*, p. 212).

32. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 306. The reason was purely biological.

34. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. p. 42. Jarret's translation.

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have been happy to abolish 'sati' altogether as a cruel custom, but could not take any effective action for fear of offending Hindu sentiment, and had to content himself with publicising the fact that no woman need burn herself if she did not want to, and making it a duty of the kotwal to assure himself of the fact that the sati was voluntary.[35].

We now come to the third reason for misconceptions in regard to Akbar's religion. It is clear that he had lost confidence in the ulama, that his outlook became more and more rational and secular, that without exercising undue pressure he wished to form a body of men who shared his outlook and were willing to attach themselves to him. This outlook cannot be called "Din-i-Ilahi". This term is not used by Abul Fazl, and occurs only once in Badauni. But Akbar did have the desire to combine freedom of thought and discussion and a constant search for what was true in reason and religion with loyalty to himself. The implication of this in term of religious belief can be deduced from what Badauni says about the declaration made by the 'mean fellows' and 'apostates': "I, so and so, who am the son of so and so, have willingly and out of my own inclination and the desire of my heart sought release from and disavow that external and imitative aspect of the Islamic faith which I have seen my forbears practice and speak about, and have entered into the Din-i-Ilahi of Akbar Shah, and have accepted the four degrees of sincerity, which are the abandonment of property, life, honour and religion (for his sake)".[36] This appears as extravagant and irreligious in politics, but in poetry religion was surrendered for the sake of the beloved with even greater joy than property, life and honour. It is only on the assumption that Akbar had disavowed Islam while other sultans and emperors who expected and allowed the most extravagant expressions of submissiveness and loyalty had not done so that we would be justified in distinguishing between the 'mean fellows' and 'apostates' of Badauni and the maliks and khans who took the

35. *A'in-i-Akbari*, "*A'in-i-Kotwal*".

36. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 304. "Din-i-Ilahi" could here also mean "pure monotheism", and not be regarded as a name. The abandonment of religion makes sense only if we consider it to mean the externals and traditional aspects of religion.

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oath of allegiance to Firoz Shah.[37] All that Abul Fazl states in the *A'in,* under the head of Rules for Aspirants to Discipleship is that those who aspired to serve the emperor with all the loyalty due to him should greet each other by saying, "Allah-o-Akbar" (which cannot possibly mean Akbar is Allah) and responding with "Jall-i-Jalaluhu"—Exalted be His glory!—that they should celebrate their birthdays with almsgiving, abstain from meat, from using the same vessels with butchers, fishers and bird-catchers, and observe certain sexual restraints. There is nothing repugnant to Islam in this declaration and also nothing extraordinary if we remember what the general practice of court and courtiers has been.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that intellectually and to some extent politically Akbar rejected the Muslim orthodoxy of his day. In practice he did not go beyond refusing to be a partisan of the ulama of the court, and promulgating the few decrees that we have mentioned above. He could not go beyond this because the identification of Muslim orthodoxy and Muslim political power was too close and too real, and they would stand or fall together. Akbar would have found no support whatsoever if he had attempted to establish a secular state based on the equality of all religions, and until the state became secular there was no alternative to orthodoxy. But as a Muslim, as a ruler and as an Indian he looked deeply into the nature of religious and social problems and indicated, even if he could not fulfil, the demands of absolute justice.

Shaikh Farid Bukhari Murtaza Khan

Stories about the Nine Jewels of Akbar's court, the wit of Bir Bal and the culture and lavish generosity of such noblemen as Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan have made the nobility of the Mughal Empire into legendary figures. On the other hand, the reaction to such innovations as the discussions of Akbar's 'Ibadat-Khana would today make some indignant at religion being made a sport of politicians and courtiers, while others would regret the

37. Full text of this oath of allegiance is given in the Insha-i-Mahru of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, a prominent Amir of the reigns of Alauddin Khilji, Qutubuddin Mubarak, Muhammad Tughlaq and Firoz Tughlaq.

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meagreness of the opportunity given to free-thinking to lend a secular character to the state. The more deeply we study the controversies of the period, the more conscious we become of their fundamental significance, and it appears essential for that reason to get ideas and personalities in a proper perspective. We have discussed Akbar's attitude towards religious problems, and towards the harmonisation of religious law with political realities and social ideas. We have described a type of the 'ulama to which all this was anathema, and dealt with Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind as the representative of a particular line of orthodox thought which embodied an ideal diametrically opposed to that of Akbar and of the believers in immanence. The study of a personality following the middle path with sobriety, confidence and perseverance would act as a corrective, and also illustrate what was in fact the principle and the practice of the majority of thoughtful public men. Shaikh Farid Bukhari appears to be the best subject for this purpose.

Shaikh Farid Bukhari's ancestors were probably learned men and had been given rent-free lands for their subsistence. But one of them, Sayyid Abdul Ghaffar of Delhi, enjoined his descendants to adopt the military profession and give up living on charity. Shaikh Farid's uncle, Muhammad Bukhari, was one of Akbar's trusted men, and was appointed superintendent of the dargah at Ajmer; his brother, Sayyid Jafar, died fighting in Gujarat in 1573. Shaikh Farid himself entered Akbar's service early in life, and he must have been near enough to Akbar for his loyalty and his aptitude to attract notice. Akbar seems to have both liked and trusted him. He is first mentioned in the *Akbarnama* as one on whom Akbar conferred the honour of visiting his house at Salimgarh on the banks of the Jumna near Delhi. This house had been presented to him by Akbar, and besides this he "had many seats in that delightful neighbourhood".[38] He was sent with other high officers to quell rebellions in Bihar and Bengal. In the 28th year of Akbar's reign, when engaged in operations against the rebel, Qutlu Lohani in Orissa, he was nearly trapped and killed, but the outcome of the expedition was satisfactory, and in the 30th year he was given the rank of 700. In 1598-99 he was asked to organise famine relief measures in Bihar, and in 1600 he participated in the Asirgarh

38. *Akbarnama*, Tr. by Beveridge, p. 322.

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campaign. Shortly after he was appointed Mir Bakhshi, one of the highest positions in the government. When Prince Salim had Abul Fazl murdered, no one in the court was willing to perform the unpleasant task of conveying the news of the tragedy to Akbar, but Shaikh Farid elected to do so.

These were the last years of Akbar and the question of succession was agitating the minds of people. Akbar loved his eldest son, Salim, but he had been wayward and thoughtless enough to entertain ideas of rebellion, and even if that were overlooked, he had given no evidence of a genuine sense of responsibility. Possibly for this reason, but more probably because Salim's grown-up son, Khusrau, was closely related to them by marriage and would, therefore, be under their influence, Raja Man Singh and Mirza Aziz Koka began manoeuvring to place him on the throne when Akbar was lying on his death-bed. Shaikh Farid did not belong to any party and does not seem to have made any efforts to win Salim's favour. But at this critical moment, when as Mir Bakhshi he had command of the army and was guarding the Khizri Gate, he exercised his initiative to ensure a peaceful succession to the throne. He came out of the Fort, went to Salim's house and offered him his congratulations on having become Emperor. This bold move decided the course of events. Amirs who heard of it followed Shaikh Farid's example, Salim became confident enough to enter the Fort and ascend the throne and received thereafter the blessings of his dying father.

The outstanding feature of this episode is that Shaikh Farid did not do anything out of a personal interest. He was not attached to Salim, who as Emperor styled himself Jahangir, and not opposed to Khusrau. He had no means of knowing Akbar's wishes, apart from the fact that Akbar, just before his last illness, had raised Khusrau's rank and made Jahangir Governor of Gujarat. Jahangir had sent away the army under his command towards Gujarat, and if Shaikh Farid had wanted to play safe, he could have kept quiet and let things happen. But he intervened judiciously and effectively. His sense of duty appears all the more admirable because at this critical moment he had given refuge in his house to Akbar's physician, Hakim Ali Gilani, whom the ladies of the palace were accusing of being so incompetent or disloyal as to have shortened Akbar's life by his treatment. That Shaikh Farid was

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bold enough to give shelter to the royal physician is an indication of his personal integrity and the reputation he must have enjoyed for being just and impartial.

Jahangir, on his accession, gave Shaikh Farid the title of "Master of the Sword and the Pen", raised him to the rank of 5000, and confirmed him in his office of Mir Bakhshi. He was entrusted with the organisation of the coronation festivities, and shortly after, when Khusrau raised the standard of revolt, Shaikh Farid was sent against him as being obviously the person whose loyalty could be most trusted. Jahangir himself followed with another army. People around him whispered that Shaikh Farid would possibly not be as quick and resolute as the state of affairs required him to be. But before Jahangir caught up with him, Shaikh Farid had defeated Khusrau near Lahore. When Jahangir met him near the field of battle, he embraced him, conferred on him the title of Murtaza Khan and spent the night in his tent. But in spite of all that he had done for Jahangir, it does not appear that Shaikh Farid expected any demonstrations of the royal gratitude and favour. Jahangir first appointed him governor of Gujarat, then recalled him. "As it was again represented to me", he writes in his memoirs, "that oppression was being committed by the brethren and attendants of Murtaza Khan (Shaikh Farid) on the ryots (peasants) and people of Ahmadabad in Gujarat, and that he was unable properly to restrain his relations and people about him, I transferred the subah from him".[39] In the tenth year of Jahangir's reign, Shaikh Farid was appointed governor of the Punjab. One of his assignments as governor was the reduction of the fort of Nagarkot. One Rajah Suraj Singh had been deputed to serve with him, and Shaikh Farid was forced to report against him because of his behaviour. But before anything substantial could be achieved, Shaikh Farid fell ill and died (1616). "He was one of the ancients of this State", wrote Jahangir. "My revered father had brought him up and raised him to a position of consequence and trust.... I was much grieved in mind at this news".[40]

39. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Roger's Translation, Vol. I, p. 153.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 324-5.

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"The Shaikh was adorned with outward and inward excellence". He possessed the two gifts most admired, courage and liberality. "No one who approached him saw the face of disappointment in the mirror of his thoughts. On the way to the darbar he distributed qabas,[41] blankets, sheets and shoes to the poor passers-by. He distributed small gold and silver coins with his own hands. One day a dervish received alms from him seven times. The eighth time he whispered to him, "Hide what you have taken seven time, so that the other dervishes do not snatch it from you". Recluses, pious men, needy persons and widows received fixed allowances daily or yearly, both in his presence and privately.... The children of those who had been in his service had all fixed monthly allowances, and they sported, as if they were his own children, in his arms. He appointed teachers to teach them. In Gujarat he had the names of Sayyids, male and female, written down, and gave them from his own establishment wedding clothes for their children. He even put money in deposit for those who were in the womb.... But he gave nothing to panegyrists or singers. He founded many hostels and sarais.... He paid his soldiers with his own hands. He did not grumble at the crowd of men and the noise and the confusion.

"They say that an Afghan named Sher Khan was one of his best servants. He took leave in Gujarat and went to his home and stayed there for five or six years. When the Shaikh was appointed to the Kangra campaign, he came to the town of Kalanaur and paid his respects. The Shaikh told his bakhshi Dwarka Das to give him the man's account, in order that he might send the money to his family. The bakhshi wrote out his account and gave it to the Shaikh for the insertion of the date. The Shaikh got angry and said, "He is an old servant. If for some reason he has come late, how has our work suffered"? He made out his account from the date that his salary had been entered on the establishment and paid him Rs. 7000/-"[42]

His administrative and military service is an impressive aspect of Shaikh Farid's career; his loyalty to the sovereign and his

41. Outer garments.

42. *Ma'athir al-Umara*, p. 525-26, Tr. by Beveridge.

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munificence are endearing qualities. Shaikh Farid also earned the respect and regard of religious men and reformers because of his courage, his sincereity and his goodwill. He was rising in Akbar's favour about the time the religious discussions in the Ibadat Khana were taking place; he did not become a partisan of the Emperor to get more rapid promotion or throw in his lot with the orthodx. He attached himself to Khwaja Baqi bi'llah, who came to Delhi in 1599 or 1600, and settled down to work of quiet reform. Shaikh Farid became a means of extending the Khwaja's influence among the nobility, but with a spirit of goodwill that placed him beyond suspicion. The Khwaja, and, after his death in 1603, Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind were anxious to counteract the growing moral laxity among the upper classes, and in this they had Shaikh Farid's whole-hearted support. But he did not commit himself to any of their doctrines, or accept such implications of reform as opposition to the Shiahs and the Hindus.

The collection of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's letters contains several addressed to Shaikh Farid. Unfortunately, we do not possess Shaikh Farid's reply to any of them, but the subjects dealt with in these letters can be assumed to indicate common interests, Shaikh Ahmad's conviction that Shaikh Farid would do something to further these interests, and matters arising out of them in which Shaikh Ahmad would seek to influence Shaikh Farid's opinion or urge him to more concrete and decisive action. In one letter (Vol. I, No. 43) Shaikh Ahmad has explained the difference between the Unity of Phenomena and the Unity of Existence. This was a controversy in which only a person who considered the sufis believing in immanence to be misguided and heretical would actively involve himself, and we would not be far wrong if we imagined Shaikh Farid scratching his head after reading the letter and putting it away reverently. In the next letter (Vol. I, No. 44), Shaikh Ahmad dilates upon the eminence of the Prophet, the high moral status of the people who believe in him, the vileness of those who disbelieve and the need of following the Prophet's example. Then we have a letter (Vol. I, No. 45) written shortly after the death of Khwaja Baqi bi'llah, in which Shaikh Ahmad thanks Shaikh Farid for having provided for those living in the Khanqah of the Khwaja. This indicates the kind of help Shaikh Farid was giving to the reform movement. Letter No. 46 (Vol. I) is a sermon. Then we have a letter (No. 47,

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Vol. I) from which it appears that Akbar was dead and Jahangir was on the throne, and Shaikh Ahmad thought this an opportune moment for restoring Islam and the Muslims to the position which in justice belonged to them. "You would know", he says, "how wretched the Muslims were in the times that are past, in spite of their excellence. In earlier days the separation did not extend beyond the limits indicated in the sacred verse "To you your faith....", that the Muslims should act according to their faith and the kafirs follow their own path. But in the (recent) past the kafirs promulgated the ordinances of their religion as if they were the superior power while the Muslims were utterly unable to declare the laws of Islam, and if they did, they could even be killed.... Now that the glad tidings of the decline of those who sought to restrain the power of Islam and of the accession of the King of Islam have reached the ears of all and sundry, the followers of Islam have declared it obligatory to help and support the King, to show the way towards the (universal) observance of the shariah and the strengthening of the (Islamic) community, whether with speech or with action". The letter proceeds to warn against the worldly ulama, on whom it puts the blame for all the evil that had befallen the Muslims. "In view of this", Shaikh Ahmad continues, "your humble correspondent desires to join those who are the supporters of the power of Islam and to exert himself in this matter, so as to bear witness to the truth (of the statement) that he who adds to the number of a nation becomes one of the nation. I hope that I, helpless though I am, will be included in the august community, and shall be able to consider myself in the same position as the old woman who had spun a hank of yarn and counted herself among those who sought to buy (the slave) Joseph. I hope I shall have the privilege of meeting you soon. I also hope that, since you are so close to the king and also possess the means, you will endeavour to propagate the shariah of the Prophet Muhammad in public and in private and rescue the Muslims from their desolate condition". The letter concludes with a staggering anti-climax. "The bearer of this letter, Maulana Hamid, used to get a stipened from the government. Last year he got it through you; this year also he is a suppliant. May God bestow on you spiritual and material wealth!" In another letter (No. 51, Vol. I). there is again a mixture of exhortation and flattery, and Shaikh Farid is assured that only the 'ahl-i-bait, the des-

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cendants of the Prophet,[43] can rescue the Muslims from the whirlpool of error.

It is possible that Shaikh Farid acted upon the advice given to him, and utilised all opportunities of transforming Jahangir into a Sunni Muslim of the approved type. We learn from a letter of Shaikh Ahmad (Vol. I, No. 53) that Jahangir had asked Shaikh Farid to suggest the names of four learned men to be employed by the court for the exposition of the shariah. The project did not, however, materialise.

Shaikh Farid's interests extended beyond politics and piety to secular knowledge also. He induced Shaikh Nurul Haq Muhaddith, to write the historical work known as the *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, and the preparation of the *Zubdat-al-Tawarikh* was also due to his encouragement and support. He was loudly praised for having a mosque repaired at Lahore and for building several khanqahs and sarais. While at Ahmedabad, he added a quarter to the city which he called Bukhara, and he founded the township of Faridabad, near Delhi.

Shaikh Farid stands out as an example of distinguished administrative, diplomatic and military service, of a devotion to justice and duty unpolluted by selfishness and fear, and of an all-embracing goodwill. Without making any attempt to attract royal or popular attention, he became a symbol of conscientiousness and integrity. His own generation could not claim to possess many like him; in the succeeding generations his type became still more rare. "Good God! Though there is the same interchange of night and day, the same movements of the planets and revolution of the spheres, yet at this portion of time this land is without such men. Perhaps they have gone to some other country!"[44]

43. Shaik Farid came from a family of Sayyids of Dukhara.
44. *Ma'athir al-Umara'*, p. 527.

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The Khaljis of Malwa and the Sultans of Delhi

BY

Dr. Hameed ud-din

The elevated and leafy land of Malwa occupied an attractively central tract in the Indian sub-continent, being closely bounded by the Vindhyas in the south, and sheltered by its extensive ranges in the east and the west. The northern boundary could be roughly indicated by a line drawn from Chittor to Chanderi along the Mukandwara range.[1] The region as a whole was regarded in the medieval times as an extremely fertile area, and nearly every part of it was cultivable. The verdant growth bore testimony to the bounty of nature, and the beauty of the landscape was further enhanced by the numerous limpid streams 'on whose banks the willow grows wild' and the hyacinth and fragrant flowers of many hues, and the abundant shade of trees. Lakes and green meads are frequent and stately palaces and the fair country homes breathe tales of fairyland. The climate is temperate and in winter there is little need of warm clothing.[2] No wonder the people were overcome by a feeling of languor, and whereas the adults took delight in chewing the intoxicating betel leaves[3] and enjoying the fulsome harvest of the vine of Hasilpur which bore twice in the year, the children up to the age of three, were, according to Abu'l Faḍl, treated to poppy and opium.

1. This in brief was the extent of Malwa proper, consisting mainly of the plateau, and lying between 23 30′ N. and 24 30′ N., and 74 30′ & 78 10′ E. (See *IG*, XVII, 100). The boundaries of the kingdom as a whole and its political fortunes had, of course, been changing from time to time.

2. Abu'l Faḍl, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, tr. II, 195.

3. The betel leaf was popular all over the sub-continent and was liked particularly for its stimulating and fragrant properties. See 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, "Matla' al-Sa'dain wa Majma' al-Baḥrain" (Chr. Col. Library, Cambridge) MS fol. 393a. See also the present writer's article on "Indian culture in the late Sultanate period" in the *East & West*, Rome, 12/i (1961) p. 32.

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Malwa, however, had figured prominently in different periods in the history of India and attracted the notice of the Indian rulers ever since the Buddhist times. During the ascendancy of the Paramara Rajputs, it enjoyed a well-deserved fame, particularly on account of the patronage extended to literature by the warrior-scholar, Raja Bhoja. The thirteenth century witnessed the advent of the Muslims, and in 1233 Sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltemish of Delhi led his army into Malwa and conquered Bhīlsah and Ujjain.[4] In 1251 Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmūd attacked Malwa, and after defeating Chāhad[5] Dev who had opposed the imperial army with 5,000 horsemen and 200,000 foot-soldiers, captured the fortress of Narwar. Under Sultan Ghiāṯh al-Dīn Balban (1266-1287) the territory of Malwa was thoroughly subjugated and thenceforth it continued to form part of the Delhi Sultanate until in 1401 its governor, Dilāwar Khan Ghorī, taking advantage of the confusion which prevailed at Delhi after Timur's invasion, declared his independence. He was succeeded in 1406 by his son, Hushang Shah, whose reign extended over a period of thirty years. Hushang's son, Muhammad Shah, died after a brief reign of nine months,[6] and

4. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (A.S.B. Text, p. 176) the date of the expedition is given as 632 A.H., but according to Raverty (tr. p. 821, N. 6), some other MSS of the same work have mentioned 631 A.H. which is supported by the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (A.S.B. text, I, 61), and also by the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (A.S.B. text, p. 20) so far as the attack on Ujjain is concerned. For the Bhīlsah expedition *TMS* gives the date as 633 A.H. which cannot, however, be correct. as the place which the Sultan attacked in that year (in the Sind Sagar Doab) and which *TA* has wrongly mentioned as Multan was Banyan.

Abu'l Faḍl has given a fascinating description of the holy city of Ujjain, situated on the bank of the river Sipra, which at times 'flows in waves of milk'. He included Bhīlsah in the Raisin *Sarkar*. See *Ā'īn*, tr. II, 196. *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī*, tr. C. Bayley (London, 1886) p. 358.

5. His name is mentioned by different authorities as Chāhar Ajār, Chāhar Dev, Jāhar Dev and Jahwār Jār, but the extant coins clearly show it to be Chāhad Dev. See E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi* (London, 1871) p. 75, H. N. Wright, *Coins & metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* (Oxford, 1936) p. 26.

6. According to the contemporary writer, Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm (see below text and Note: 8), Hushang died on May 5, 1435, and his son, Ghaznī Khan, was proclaimed king three days later under the title of Muhammad Shah. Wright's chronology appears to be wrong, for, he has given 1405 as the

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the latter's son, Mas'ūd Khan, was overthrown within a month of his accession, by the ambitious minister, Mahmūd Khan, who ascended the throne on May 16, 1436, and styled himself Sultan Mahmūd Shah Khaljī.[7] He proved, however, to be the greatest Muslim ruler of Malwa under whom the kingdom reached the highest level of prosperity and its boundaries were extended in all directions.

New light on Mahmūd Khaljī's achievements is thrown by the discovery of the valuable work of his court chronicler, 'Alī ibn Mahmūd al-Kirmānī' also known as Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm, who compiled his biography soon after his death and called it "Ma'āṯhir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī."[8] The work discusses the Turkish origin of the Khaljīs

date of Hushang's accession and 1432 as the date of the latter's death as well as that of Muhammad Shah's accession, without however, citing any evidence. See *Catalogue of coins in the Indian museum, Calcutta* (Oxford, 1907), II, 242.

It may also be pointed out that the extant gold coin of Muhammad Shah, bearing the date 840 A.H. is obviously a posthumous one. This point has been further elucidated by the present writer in a note published in the *History & Culture of the Indian people*, Vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar (Bombay, 1960) pp. 238-239, N. 6 (under Malwa).

7. He was a descendant of Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn who had founded the Khaljī Dynasty of Delhi in 1290. His rise to power was prodigious as he had forced his way to the throne by poisoning Muhammad Shah and dramatically arresting the hostile nobles, and ultimately by expelling Mas'ūd Khan and 'Umar Khan after a vigorous action lasting a whole day and night. See "Ma'āṯhir-i-Mahmūd Shahī" (Tubingen MS) fol. 10b, 11a, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, "Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqī" (Bodleian Library, Oxford) MS ..... fol. ..... (U. L. Cambridge) MS p. 105, Nūr al-Ḥaqq, "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (India Office Lib.) MS fol. 210a, *TA*, text III, 310-311.

Mahmūd had been suspected of his designs much earlier, and Mushtāqī has related a rather incredible story of his internment and his deceiving of the royal physicians by vomitting an animal's blood which he had drunk. Such stories, however, appear to have been popular in those days, for, a similar one has been related by some authorities in connection with the supposed rise to power of one Rāè Sihrah in Multan. The present writer has discussed the subject in the April 1962 issue of *JIH* and the *Delhi Sultanate* (pp. 246-247) to show that the Langāh Dynasty of Multan was founded by Budhan Khan Sindhī in 1437, and not by Rāè Sihrah in 1445. See Rizqullah Mushtāqī; "Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī" (British Museum) MS p. 162.

8. The work is rare and only three MSS are known to be extant:—
   (i) University Library, Tubingen, West Germany.
   (ii) Bodleian Library, Oxford.
   (iii) Library of the King's College, Cambridge.

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and traces their ancestry to Qālij Khan (later changed by Turkish writers to Khālij) who was the son-in-law of Chingiz Khan and also claimed descent from Afrāsyāb.[9] It further gives a comprehensive account of Mahmūd's relations with the Sultans of Delhi, including a detailed description of his abortive attempt to conquer Delhi in 1442 and of Buhlūl Lodī's appeals to him in 1469 for help against Ḥusain Sharqī's aggression. It also tells us that the well known saint, Shaikh Mahmūd, and numerous scholars who had left Delhi on account of insecurity and indigence, were welcomed by Mahmūd in the early years of his reign. As no other contemporary account of these important episodes of Indian history the facsimiles of the relevant parts of Tubingen and Bodleian manuscripts of the "Ma'āṯhir" are published here in the hope that they might be of interest to the scholars and research workers in the field.[10]

Mahmūd was ever anxious to extend his dominions, but realizing that it might not be possible for him to conquer the neighbouring kingdom of Gujarat, he set his covetous eyes on the Sayyid kingdom of Delhi which was rapidly declining. An opportunity presented itself to him in 1441 when he received petitions from the Mewati leaders, Jalāl Khan, Ahmad Khan, Mubārak Khan and Ḥasan Khan as well as from the *'Ulama* and other eminent men of Delhi, urging him to rid them of a king who had deviated from the path of righteousness and was unable to protect the lives and property of his subjects. Mahmūd immediately responded to the invitation, and ostensibly to champion the cause of Islam and that of his oppressed co-religionists, set out early in 1442. On his way to Delhi, he was met by numerous saints and scholars who were

The present writer has compared all the three MSS. See also bibliographical note in the *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 752-753.

9. See facsimile of Bodleian MS fol. 12a at Plate: I.

Afrāsyāb was the legendary king of the Turanians who were identified with the Turks. See *Encyl. Islam*, N. Ed. I, 236. Some of the authorities have stated that Khalaj was the name of a place to which Qālij belonged, and hence the derivative Khaljī (not Khiljī, as some modern writers assume). See "Tarikh-i-Haqqi" (Bod. Oxford) MS.....fol..... (Camb.) MS p. 106, "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (India Office) MS fol. 210a.

10. See plates II.....

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favoured with expensive gifts. According to his biographer, in about a fortnight that he took to arrive at the outskirts of Delhi, he had spent 60,000 *tankahs* on robes and other presents which he gave to deserving men. Yūsuf Khan of Hindūn who also came to join the Sultan, was rewarded with 25,000 *tankahs* in cash, in addition to rich robes, gilded belts and fully equipped horses. The Khaljī army encamped at a place called Talbat (or Talpat) within ten miles of Delhi. Sultan Muhammad Shah Sayyid, in his extremity, sought the help of his nominal vassal, Buhlūl Lodī, who rushed with 20,000 mounted soldiers and strengthened the Delhi army who took up their position near Tughluqābād.[11] The Sayyid Sultan formally entrusted the command of his forces to his son, 'Alā al-Dīn, and Mahmūd Khaljī, likewise, placed the two wings of his army under his two sons, Ghiāṯh al-Dīn and 'Alā al-Dīn, and sent them into the field, while he held back himself with the third wing.

Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm, writing as an encomiast of his patron, gives a lavish description of the operation launched by the invading army. According to him, they drove back their opponents in the very first attack, and following up their success, nearly put the Delhi army to flight, when darkness interrupted further fighting. The day ended without a decision and the nightfall enabled a number of peaceful citizens who had found shelter behind the mounds and in the ditches around the battlefield, to return to their homes in the town. The Khaljīs, however, hoped to win on the following day, a clear victory, the prospects of which were suddenly changed during the intervening night. Sultan Mahmūd who had, earlier in his life, seen a number of prophetic dreams, saw another one that night, of a rebellion that had broken out at his own capital. At the same time the news which he received

11. Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm has given the distance of Tughluqābād from Delhi as one *karoh* (2 miles), and that of Talbat as two *karohs*. This cannot be correct. The "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" has rightly placed Talbat at ten miles from Delhi, taking also into account the distance of Tughluqābād from Delhi which was about eight miles. The one *karoh*. mentioned by Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm, could correctly refer to the distance that separated the Khaljī and the Delhi camps. See "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (I.O.) MS fol. 212a, (British Museum) MS fol. 165a, (John Rylands Library, Manchester) MS fol· 190b, (U. L. Cambridge) Corpus MS fol. 49a, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, I, 42.

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of an impending attack on Malwa by the king of Gujarat, was even more disturbing.[12] In the morning when he was still brooding over the turn of his fortune, Sultan Muhammad Shah Sayyid offered him a chance of an honourable retreat. He sent emissaries to ask for peace and assure Mahmūd of the loyalty of the citizens who had always been friendly to him and wished to remain so in the future. Mahmūd, who had perhaps already made up his mind to return, reacted favourably to the proposal for peace, and hurried back to his capital where he arrived on May 12, 1442. Some of the authorities have, however, pertinently observed that the Khalji Sultan, at the close of the day's battle, was discouraged by seeing signs of depression and weariness on the faces of his soldiers, and as he did not want to risk his prestige by suffering a defeat at the beginning of his reign, he became indecisive.[13] He had probably expected that Muhammad Shah would surrender without offering any resistance,[14] but the course of the fighting

12. The fact is not mentioned by Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm, but Mushtāqī states that the very object of Sultan Aḥmad's advance towards Malwa was to compel Mahmūd to withdraw from Delhi, lest he should become too powerful and should be able to conquer Gujarat as well. Thus were destroyed the chances of the revival of Khalji power at Delhi. To quote the "Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī", MS pp. 163-164.

> Bād=shāh-i-Gujrat dar khāṭir kard, kih pādshāhi-yi Dehlī ḍa'īf shudah ash. Mahmūd bādshāh-i-qawī ast. Albattah takht-i-Dehlī rā qābiḍ mīshawad wa ānjā nishastah mamlukat-i-'ālī rā ṭalab mīkunad. Awwala-n bar Gujrat mīāyd. Mā rā tadbīr-i-ān mībāyad kard. Tadbīr-i-ū ānast tā ānkih ū takht-i-Dehlī ra qabz nah kardah ast, mā bar wilāyat-i-Mandū sawārī kunèm, kih azānjā bar gardad. Wa hamchunīn kard. Mahmūd khabar yāft kih Gujrātī bar wilāyat-i-Mandū daghdagha-yi-sawārī dārad, wa azīnjā ṣulḥ kardah bāz gardīd.

See also "Tārīkh-i-Haqqī" (Bodleian) MS fol..... (U. L. Camb.) MS, p. 67, Ḥasan Khākī, "Muntakhab al-Twārīkh" (Eton College) MS fol. 140a, "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (I.O.) MS fol. 212a.

13. Anon. Untitled work on General History of Akbar's reign, India Office MS Ethè 120, fols. 120, 527a, "Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqī" (Bod.) fol..... (Camb.) p. 67, Sujan Rāè, *Khulāsat al-Twārīkh* (Delhi, 1918) p. 265.

14. According to Firishta, Muhammad Shah had already arranged to retreat towards the Panjab but was stopped by his nobles. He was probably heartened by the Afghan reinforcements which had arrived in time to support him. Still he did not have the courage to take the field in person. Mushtāqī writes that on account of his cowardice he was called *Ojhrī Khwār* (a term of contempt. meaning a tripe eater). See *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Bombay text, II, 486, "Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī", MS p. 164.

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had greatly upset him. It was, in fact, the presence of Buhlūl and his Afghan soldiers that had turned the scales against him. This became even more evident when Buhlūl, without Muhammad Shah's knowledge, attacked the retreating Khaljī army to retrieve the honour of his own men, and also captured some booty.[15]

However, after his accession to the throne of Delhi in 1451, Sultan Buhlūl Shah Ghazi realized the urgent need of maintaining friendly relations with Malwa, in view of his hostilities against Jaunpur. For about eighteen years he kept the Sharqis at bay with the help of his Afghan followers, but when he found that Sultan Ḥusain Sharqī was intent upon destroying the newly founded kingdom of the Lodis, he turned for help to Mahmūd Khaljī, and in 1469 sent two successive deputations to Malwa. The first comprising Shaikhzādah Muhammad Fermūlī and Rāizādah Kapūr Chand, son of Rāi Kīrat Singh of Gwalior, met the Khaljī Sultan on February 21, 1469, and complained against the persistent aggression of the Sharqīs. Mahmūd, whose relations with Jaunpur had not been friendly,[16] appeared to be agreeable to help the Afghan monarch and he therefore, sent back the deputationists with a message of hope. No active help was, however, forthcoming because nothing had been offered in return. Meanwhile Buhlūl, realizing the seriousness of the situation, sent another mission consisting of his brother-in-law, Quṭb Khan Lodī, and Rāi Kīrat Singh of Gwalior, both of whom saw Mahmūd Khaljī on April 3, 1469. They asked for immediate help and in return held out a promise to cede Bayana and present annually a contingent of 6000 soldiers. Mahmūd was delighted to accept those terms, but before he could undertake a journey towards Delhi, he suddenly fell ill and died

15. Buhlūl had played the most prominent part in the operations against the Khaljī invader and according to Mushtāqī, his cousin, Quṭb Khan Lodī. also displayed great valour. Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm has, however, omitted Bahlūl's name altogether, presumably because a reference to his brave deeds would have lowered the prestige of the Khaljī army. He has, instead, mentioned the names of two other chiefs. Sayyid Khan and Daryā Khan. See "Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī" MS fol. 3a, "Ma'āṯhir-i-Mahmūd Shahī" (Tubinĝen) MS fol. 92a, (Bod.) MS fol. 113a, (Camb.) MS fol. 158b.

16. For an account of the hostilities between the Khaljī Sultan and the Sharqīs, see Muhammad Sharīf Wuqū'ī, "Majāmi' al-Akhbār" (India Office Library, London) MS fol. 143b, 361a "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (IO.) MS fol. 213a.

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on May 31, 1469.[17] Buhlūl, however, succeeded in defeating the Sharqīs without external help, and this victory brought about a great change in his relations with Malwa. Whereas the Delhi Sultanate became immensely strong after the conquest and annexation of Jaunpur, the kingdom of Malwa, unfortunately, began to decline under Mahmūd's successor, Ghiaṯh al-Dīn, who did not take much interest in the affairs of the state and remained sunk in pleasure inside his palace.[18] Taking advantage of the new Khaljī Sultan's weakness, Buhlūl made an attempt to extend his power up to Ranthambor which lay within the jurisdiction of Malwa and was governed by Ghiāṯh al-Dīn's brother, 'Alā al-Dīn. However, before launching an assault on its strong fortress, he attacked in 1486 the newly built city of Alhanpur which was situated in close proximity to it.[19] Ghiāṯh al-Dīn's nobles who had been ordered not to upset the ease-loving Sultan with any disturbing news, arranged somehow to report this serious matter to him,[20] whereupon he ordered Shér Khan, governor of Chanderi,

17. Nūr al-Ḥaqq has pointed out that Mahmūd ascended the throne at the age of thirty-four and his reign also covered a period of thirty-four years. In this respect he could be compared to Timūr who was thirty-six at the time of his accession, and remained in power for the same number of years. See "Zubda ...." (I.O.) fol. 216a.

18. During the whole of his reign which extended over thirty years, he is said to have gone out of his palace only twice; once on an iconoclastic expedition to Jodhpur, and on another occasion to visit the tank, gardens and the beautiful buildings of Na'lchah which was situated at a distance of about four miles from the fort. See "Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī" MS p. 154.

19. Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm described Alhanpur as a dependency of Ranthambor. Both he and Mushtāqī further referred to its nearness to the fort of Ranthambor which was strategically built on an isolated rock, 1,578 feet above sea level. See "Ma'āṯhir-i-Mahmūd Shahī" (Bod.) fol. 161b, (Tubinger) fol. 131a, (Camb.) fols. 225a, 231a, "W. Mushtāqī" MS p. 153, Ā'īn-i-Akbarī. text I, 509.

20. They hired some jesters and buffoons who wore the dress of the Afghans. The Sultan who watched their performance through the curtain, was attracted by their peculiar Afghan gestures and on his inquiring, was told that Buhlūl had made incursion into the territory of Malwa. See "Majāmi' al-Akhbār" fol. 341b, "W. Mushtāqī" MS p. 153.

In the *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* (tr. p. 261) it is stated that a band of Hindus was dressed up as Afghans. Probably the word *Bhandān*, used by Mushtāqī, has been misread or misinterpreted by the author of the *Mir'aat*. Niẓām al-Dīn says that the information regarding the raid on Alhanpur was con-

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to march against Buhlūl with armies raised from Bhīlsah and Sārangpur.[21] When Buhlūl heard of Shér Khan's advance, he retreated to Bayana, but the latter went in pursuit of him and when he left for Delhi, Shér Khan still followed him and ravaged some places around the Afghan capital. Alarmed at this, Buhlūl sent a conciliatory letter together with suitable gifts to Ghiāth al-Dīn and also plentiful presents to Shér Khan to persuade him to return. Shér Khan withdrew from Delhi, but before returning to Chanderi, he rebuilt the city of Alhanpur which had been devastated by Buhlūl.[22]

Sultan Ghiāṯh al-Dīn Khaljī had combined his desire for pleasure with a scrupulous regard for the tenets of religion, and the contemporary writer, Mushtāqī, related a number of stories to illustrate his love for pious men and saints. His end was, however, rather tragic as his son, Nāṣr al-Dīn, became impatient with his long rule and having failed thrice in attempts to poison him, had him at last brutally murdered through some hired agents.[23]

veyed to Sultan Ghiāṯh al-Dīn by one of his ministers, Ḥasan Khan, who added that Buhlūl had been paying a yearly sum of money and presents to Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī I. This statement is not confirmed by earlier and contemporary works of Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm, Mushtāqī and Waqū'ī. See *TA*, III, text p. 352, "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (B.M.) MS fol. 169a, (I.O) MS fol. 217a.

21. Abu'l Faḍl described Sārangpur as a *Sarkār* in the province of Malwa. According to Shihāb-i-Ḥakīm, it was well known for its immensely strong fort. See *Ā'īn*, tr. II, 199, "Ma'āṯhir-i-Mahmūd Shahī" (Tubingen) fol. 64b.

22. Ahmad Yādgār has not mentioned the Alhanpur raid, but his account of Buhlūl's expedition against Mewar is not confirmed by any earlier authority. He is a careless writer ard appears to have mistaken Mewar for Malwa, and Udaipur for Alhanpur. Further, he has wrongly mentioned Ajmer as a place where Buhlūl had camped. Similarly his account of another expedition against Ujjain where, according to him, Buhlūl took a number of Hindu prisoners, is also wrorg, for, Ujjain at that time formed part of the kingdom of Malwa. See *Tārīkh-i-Shahī*, A.S.B. text pp. 19, 20, 28, Anon. "Tārīkh-i-Nāṣir Shahī" (I.O.) MS fol. 24b, "Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqī" (Bod.) fol. (Camb.) MS. p. 109, "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (I.O.) fol. 218a.

23. Some of the later authorities including *TA, Firishta, Ma'āthir--Rahīmī* and "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" have stated that Ghiāṯh al-Dīn died a natural death, but Nāṣir al-Dīn was accused of poisoning him. The contemporary writer, Mushtāqī, however, holds Nāṣir al-Dīn guilty of patricide. According to him, poisoned drink was administered thrice to Ghiāṯh al-Dīn but the latter escaped death every time by means of an antidote which he always

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The latter who ascended the throne in 1500 as Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Qādir Shah,[24] lacked his father's traits of amiability and benevolence, and being cruel and reckless, indulged in excessive dissipation. He took delight in water sports in the company of women who wore bathing costumes of finely woven coloured fabrics. A woman of high learning and poetic talent, Dildār Ghāchah, who usually accompanied him, was given the title of Nadīma-yi-Majlis. Once the Sultan was sitting on the banks of a stream near Ujjain, and while water was gently touching his feet, Dildār was asked to recite some verses which befitted the occasion. She uttered the following couplet as an improptu:

Āb az pay-i sarw-i-qadat mī āyad az farsanghā

Az hasrat-i pābòs-i-tu sar mīzanad bar sanghā

'The water stream, coming from afar, is attracted by your cyprus-like frame,'

'Eager to kiss your feet, it is knocking its head against the stones.'

The Sultan was immensely pleased to hear it and told the poetess that if she had not been a woman, he would have handed over the kingdom to her.[25] However, he resolved thenceforth to rule in accordance with her wishes. Unfortunately for her, Nāṣir al-Dīn died in 1510[26] and the political confusion which prevailed in

kept with him. Thereafter Nāṣir al-Dīn became desperate and engaged some men who entered the palace and killed him. The *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* affirms that Nāṣir al-Dīn killed his father, although it does not give any details. Muhammad Sharīf Wuqū'ī says that Nāṣir al-Dīn tried to poison Ghiāṯh al-Dīn three or four times, and at last succeeded in his final attempt. See "Wāqiāt-i-Mushtāqī" MS pp. 154-155, *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī*, tr. p. 221, "Majāmi' al-Akhbār" fol. 342a.

24. The "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" states that his name as a child was 'Abd al-Qādir, but as a king he was called Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn. The "Majāmi' al-Akhbār" has combined the two names as Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīr Qādir Shah while the anonymous work, known after him as 'Tārīkh-i-Nāṣr Shahī" (I.O. MS fol. 14b) describes his full name and title as Nāṣir al-Dīn .. Nāṣir al-Haqq wa al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir Shah ibn Ghiāṯh shah ibn Mahmūd Shah.

25. "Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī" MS pp. 155-156.

26. The authorities have given three different accounts of his death. According to one, supported by Mushtāqī, he was drowned in a pool of water, watched by his women attendants who dared not pull him out, lest he should kill his rescuers as he had done on an earlier occasion. Wuqū'ī

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Malwa after him, created an atmosphere of insecurity in which many people left the kingdom. Dildār decided to go to the court of Sultan Sikandar Lodī who had succeeded his father, Buhlūl Shah, in 1489 and whose capital had become the resort of learned men from far and near.[27] She was accompanied by Nāṣir al-Dīn's chief physician, Malik al-Hukamā, and two other scholars, 'Ālam Khan and Malik al-Fuḍalā.

At Agra Dildār came into contact with Khwājgī Shaikh Sa'īd, a distinguished scholar of his time,[28] who was highly impressed with her literary attainments and introduced her to Sultan Sikandar. The Lodī Sultan, unlike his Khaljī contemporaries, had no weakness for the fair sex, and on the contrary, shunned the company of women.[29] However, he invited Dildār to an audience and had a long conversation with her, after which although he appreciated the lady's accomplishments and her depth of intelligence, yet he remarked that as a woman she had better remained in seclusion and avoided public appearance. She had to leave Agra in disappointment, and it is a pity that no more was heard of that talented woman. One of her companions, 'Ālam Khan, had died soon after his arrival, but the other two continued to stay at Agra.

adds that he was poisoned by some aggrieved nobles, and this version is endorsed by the "Zubdat al-Twārīkh". Accordirg to *TA, Firishta* and *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, he died of typhoid.

27. See *East & West*, 12/i, (1961), pp. 26-30.

28. Khawājgī Shaikh Sa'īd was an esteemed friend of Sultan Sikandar Lodī and enjoyed his confidence for over thirty years. Before Sikandar came to the throne, he had acted as the former's tutor and has closely watched his ward's interests. When Tātār Khan Yūsuf Khail, governor of Lahore, rebelled against Sultan Buhlūl Shah and the latter wrote to Sikandar (then known as Niẓām Khan) to suppress the rebel, Khwājgī Sa'īd urged the young prince to avail of the opportunity to demonstrate his valour and prove his capacity to be a worthy successor to his father. As a king Sikandar sought Khwājgī's advice on the most intricate problems. According to Mushtāqī, Khājgī Sa'īd was a versatile genius, and could not only wield the sword bravely, but was also capable of guiding the deliberations on literary, philosophic and scientific questions. See "Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī" MS pp. 16, 129, "Tārīkh-i Dā'ūdī" (S.O.A.S. Lib., London) MS pp. 26-29, 42, 43, (Aligarh text, 1954) p. 50. See also the present writer's articles in the *Islamic Culture*, 35/iv (1961) p. 231 & N. 48, and the *East & West*, 12/i (1961) p. 26.

29. See Muhammad Kabīr, "Afsāna-yi-Shāhān" (British Museum) MS fol. 38b.

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As Malik al-Fuḍalā possessed the qualities of a soldier, he was, after some time, posted to Chanderi where he could use his personal influence to pacify the area.[30] Malik al-Ḥukamā remained in regular attendance on the Lodī Sultan who sent him once on a friendly mission to Sultan Muzaffar II of Gujarat. During the course of discussion the Sultan of Gujarat asked him why he did not persuade the Lodī Sultan to keep a beard in compliance with the law of the *Sharī'at*. He evaded the question by saying that Sikandar had a number of 'Ulamā around him to advise him on such matters. When he returned to Agra and reported the discussion to Sikandar, the latter was not happy to hear that his own envoy had not positively supported the Sultan's attitude with regard to the beard. The Lodī Sultan, although a devout Muslim, had yet always hesitated to grow a beard and had spoken disparagingly of the famous theologian, Hājjī Shaikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who had urged him to do so. On the eve of his death, however, Sikandar did repent his attitude and counted the shaving of his beard as one of his lapses for which he paid a sum of money in charity by way of atonement.[31]

30. For the occupation of Chanderi by the Lodīs, see text below.

31. "Tārīkh-i-Mushtāqī" MS fols. 26b, 27b, "T. Dā'ūdī" (S.O.A.S.) MS Hājjī Shaikh 'Abd al-Waḥḥab was a descendant of the famous Bukhārī saint, Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn, and had settled at Delhi where he died in 1526. He had very cordial relations with the first Lodī Sultan, Buhlūl Shah, and both of them held each other so dear that their friendship has been compared by the authorities to that of the famous Persian poet, Rūmī, with Shams of Tabrèz. Hājjī Waḥḥāb was, however, displeased with Sultan Sikandar Lodī for not keeping a beard, and the latter's death in 1517 on account of a disease of the throat was superstitiously attributed to a curse uttered by the former on hearing that Sikandar had made some disrespectful remarks about him. He was also annoyed with Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodī on account of the murder of the latter's brother, Jalāl Khan, who had for a long time taken refuge in the building meant to be Hājjī Waḥḥāb's mausoleum. Enraged at that act of fratricide, Hājjī Waḥḥāb had predicted Sultan Ibrāhīm's destruction as a retributary punishment. Ibrāhīm similarly incurred the displeasure of another saint, Shaikh Muhammad Musalmān, in consequence of the foul murder of his noble, Miān Ḥusain Farmūlī, at Chanderi. See *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, text II, 222, "Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqī" (Bod., Oxford) MS Ous. 59, fol. 274b, MS Ous. 60, fol. 53a, MS Fraser 132, fol. 68a, 88b, MS Fraser 133, fol. 61a, 61b, (U. L. Cambridge) MS p. 74, "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (India Office) MS fols. 49b, 59a, 59b, (U. L. Camb.) Corpus MS fol. 60a, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, *Akhbār al-Akhyār* (Delhi, 1309/1891), pp. 210-214, Muham-

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The close of Sultan Nāsir al-Dīn Khaljī's reign had led to internecine conflict among his sons which gave an opportunity to Sultan Sikandar Lodī to seek political and territorial gains in Malwa by supporting one claimant against another. Nāṣir al-Dīn's eldest son and heir-apparent, Shihāb al-Dīn, who held the fief of Chanderi, rebelled against him only a short time before his death, but when he marched against the latter with an army, the prince, unheeding the advice of the messengers who had been sent to persuade him to submit, fled towards Delhi and took shelter with the Lodī Sultan.[32] The Khaljī monarch was distressed by his son's defection, and punished him by excluding him from succession and nominating the younger son, A'zam Humāyūn as heir-apparent. No sooner did A'zam Humāyūn ascend the throne as Mahmūd Khaljī II than Shihāb al-Dīn returned from Delhi and went straight to Nusratabad Na'lchah (near Mandu). Finding, however, the city gates shut against him, he fled to Burhanpur.[33]

mad Barārī, "Mujmal-i-Mufaṣṣal" (A.S.B. Calcutta) MS fol. 180b, Jamālī, "Siyar al-'Ārifīn" (I.O) MS fol. 243a, (B.M.) MS fol. 211b. See also the present writer's article on "The fall of the first Afghan empire in India" in the *Asiatische Studien*, Vol. 14, pp. 125-151.

32. "Majāmi' al-Akhbār" fol. 342a, "Zabdat al-Twārīkh" (B.M.) MS fol. 17a, "Tārīkh-i-Ḥaqqī" (Bod.) MS fol. (Camb.) MS p. iii.

According to *TA* (I, 330, III, 375) and *Firishtah* (I, 340, II, 517-518), Shihāb al-Dīn did not reach Delhi but returned from Siri, a dependency of Malwa. Their statement that Sikandar demanded from the prince the surrender of Chanderi as a pre-condition for his help, cannot be correct, for, Chanderi had already been recovered by Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn and it was there that he called his younger son, A'ẓam Humāyūn, from Ranthambor to meet him. Similarly another of their statement that after a short time Muhammad Khan, a grandson of Nāṣir al-Dīn, being frightened with the latter's attitude, took refuge at the court of Sikandar who bestowed on him the territory of Chanderi, is also incorrect, as the Lodī Sultan had no jurisdiction at that time over Chanderi which was firmly held by Nāṣir al-Dīn.

33. "Majāmi' al-Akhbār", fol. 342b, (Camb.) MS p. 112, (Bod.) fol.

According to Firishtah, Shihāb al-Dīn went to Asir which was, however, not very far from Burhānpur, both the places being situated in the present Nimar district. *TA* states that he went to Kandāsah which later in the text has been called Kandūhah, but another variant, Kandūyah, found in the lith. ed. appears to be the correct name. See *Firishtah*, text II, 518, *TA*, A.S.B. text III, 376, 385, tr. p. 575, N-1, *IG*, XXVI; 41; A-3.

For a description of Na'lchah, see C. E. Luard, *Western States (Mālwā) Gazetteer* (Bombay, 1908), Vol. V, Part A, text, p. 508.

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About three months later he set out again for Mandu at the instigation of some nobles, but died on the way on account of a heat stroke. His supporters transferred their allegiance to his adopted son whom they styled Hushang Shah II, but the young pretender was easily defeated by a small force which was sent by Mahmūd II under Niẓām Khan. He fled towards the hills, but after a few months returned to the capital and cast in his lot with Sultan Mahmūd.[34]

The opposition to the Khaljī Sultan had not ended with the demise of Shihāb al-Dīn or the defeat of the latter's adopted son. The disaffected nobles, led by Mahmūd's eunuch minister, Muhāfiẓ Khan, had found a much more stubborn opponent to him in Ṣāhib Khan, another son of the deceased Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn, who had been condemned to the prison. In a nocturnal action they compelled Mahmūd to flee from the capital, and raised Ṣāhib Khan to the throne under the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah II.[35] The fugitive Sultan, Mahmūd, went to Ujjain but being hotly pursued by his enemies, he proceeded to Dipalpur. By that time a large number of his nobles had deserted him, and in desperation, he turned towards Chanderi for an asylum, but its governor, Bahjat Khan, refused to admit him as he preferred to remain loyal to the *defacto sovereign* who held control of the capital of the kingdom. Mahmūd was in a grave predicament and sojourned for a time at Bihishtpur where some of his nobles advised him to get in touch with Sultan Sikandar Lodī and ask for his help. He did not, however, like the idea of appealing to a fellow king for support, and instead, made use of the profferred assistance of a brave Rajput

34. *TA*, text, IIII, 384.

35. Some of the authorities including *TA* have mentioned his title as Mahmūd Shah (III) which is due to the common error of misreading Mahmūd for Muhammad and vice versa. The title Muhammad Shah is, however, confirmed by the *Bābur-nāma* (p. 593) as well as the coins which he issued as early as 1511. See *Catalogue of coins..Calcutta*, II, 243, 249.

In a foot-note in *TA*, tr. III, 582, Muḥāfiẓ Khan's lack of imagination in choosing the title Mahmūd for his protégé is criticized, but *CHI*, III has been misquoted, as the title mentioned therein at p. 365 is Muhammad II and not Mahmūd II.

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officer, Mèdnī Rāè.[36] In the ensuing conflict, Mèdni Rāè, with a band of his Rajput followers, turned the tables against Ṣāhib Khan, and Mahmūd was able to re-enter Shādiabād in triumph on November, 28, 1511. Ṣāhib Khan fled to Gujarat where Sultan Muẓaffar received him honourably. The latter proposed to recover Malwa after the rainy season, and to divide the country between Ṣāhib Khan and Mahmūd. The unfortunate prince, however, soon lost his patron's sympathy on account of a sudden affray between his followers and those of the Persian envoy, Mirzā Ibrāhīm, as a result of which some Qazilbāshes were killed.[37] Sultan Muẓaffar was annoyed with that affair and Ṣāhib Khan, finding himself in an embarrassing situation, quietly left Gujarat, without even his host's knowledge, and proceeded towards Asīr with only 300 horsemen. When he arrived at the border village of Purkanu, he was suddenly attacked by Lodha, the governor of the town of Kanduyah.[38] Humiliated and harassed in that way, he hurried to the fortress-town of Gāwīl in Berar.[39] Its ruler, 'Alā al-Dīn 'Imād

36. A dramatic figure in the history of Malwa who suddenly became conspicuous by enabling Mahmūd II to win back his throne, but later brought about the decline of the Khaljī power in collaboration with Rānā Sāngā of Mewar. This led to the intervention of the rulers of Gujarat who ultimately annexed the Khāljī kingdom. See *Mir"at-i-Sikandarī*, tr. pp. 247, 248, 250, 251, 352.

37. According to Sikandar Manjhū, the root-cause of the trouble was a valuable jewel in Ṣāḥib Khan's possession, which Mirzā Ibrāhīm was anxious to obtain but which he was unable to pay the price. Niẓām al-Dīn and Firishtah do not mention any personal differences between the Khaljī prince and the Persian envoy, but attribute the blame to the servants of both parties. Moreover, they have given the name of the envoy as Yādgār Mughul or Yādgār Beg. See *TA*, III, 385, *Firishtah*, II, 406, 520, *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī*; tr. p. 246.

38. For Kandūyah see note 33 above. Lodhā was apparently a nominee of Mahmūd II. Purkānū has been mentioned in different MSS of *TA* as Lurkānū and Nugānū. In tr. III, 586, Lôrgāon is suggested as a possible variation. The place is described in *TA*, text, III, 385, as a village on the boundary of Asīr.

39. The hill fort of Gawīl (or Gawīlgarh in the present Amravati district of Bombay), which was described by Abu'l Faḍl as one of "matchless strength', was originally built by Sultan Aḥmad Shah Bahmanī in 1426 when he was halting 14 miles away at Elichpur. It was repaired and strengthened in 1488, as indicated by an inscription on the south-western gate, by Fatḥullah 'Imād al-Mulk who had, in the previous year, founded the 'Imād Shāhī Dynasty of Berar by declaring himself independent of

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Shah, who had cordial relations with Mahmūd Khaljī II, refused to lend any military assistance to Ṣāhib Khan, but out of pity, assigned to him some villages for his sustenance. Ṣāhib Khan stayed there for about a year, and ultimately crossed into Gondwana.[40]

Sultan Mahmūd's position in Malwa was considerably weakened by the rising influence at his court of Mèdnī Rāè who unscrupulously overthrew old nobles and important officials of the state and replaced them by his own Rajput nominees. His policy roused fierce opposition and led to the revolt of Bahjat Khan, governor of Chanderi, who invited Ṣāḥib Khan from Gondwana early in 1513, with the object of putting him once more on the throne. Ṣāḥib Khan did not hesitate to appeal for help to Sultan Sikandar Lodī who had also been approached by Bahjat Khan and had been assured that on the arrival of the Afghan army in Chanderi, the Lodī Sultan's name would be recited in public prayers and inscribed on coins as well. Sikandar readily dispatched a detachment of troops under 'Imād al-Mulk and Sa'īd Khan Lodī, which advanced as far as Sihrāi, a village situated within ten miles of Chanderi. However, on Bahjat Khan's failure openly to acknowledge Sikandar's supremacy, the Afghan troops withdrew about 28 miles and reported the situation to the Sultan who ordered them to return. Bahjat Khan appeared to have played a double game by making use of the temporary presence of the Afghan army to force Mahmūd II to come to a settlement with Ṣāḥib Khan. Mahmūd in that extremity agreed to assign to his brother the fort of Raisīn

Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmanī. Gawīl was his seat of power, and after his death in 1504, that of his son, 'Alā al-Dīn 'Imād al-Mulk, who also adopted the title of Shah. In 1574 Berar was annexed by Multazā Niẓām Shah of Ahmad Nagar, but when it was conquered by the Mughuls in 1598, Gawīl became a *Sarkar* with 46 *parganahs*. After the advent of the British, the fort of Gawīl was assaulted by Wellesley in 1803, and 50 years later it was dismantled. A general view of its present remains will be found at Plate ..... See *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, tr. II, 229, 232, J. S. King, *The history of the Bahmani dynasty* (London, 1900) p. 142, *Firishtah*, text I, 622, II, 343, 52·, *IG*, XII, 193, *Cassell's new atlas of the world* (London, 1961) p. 52.

40. The chieftains of Gondwāna were hostile to Mahmūd Khaljī II, and had already lent their support to Sikandar Khan, the rebellious governor of Sewās (or Satwas or, perhaps, Sewah as in *Ā'īn*, tr. II, 234) who had taken possession of the country from Kandūyah to Shihābābād, but was ultimately brought back to submission by Mèdnī Rāè. See *Firishtah*, II, 321, Ḥasan Khākī, "Muntakhab al-Twārīkh" fol. 142b, *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, I, 171-173.

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and the lands of Bhīlsah and Dhamoni,[41] and further offered him a cash present of 1000,000 *tānkahs* as well as twelve elephants. But Bahjat Khan appropriated the cash and elephants as a price for effecting the settlement, and passed on to Ṣāḥib Khan the royal order concerning the assignment of lands. The latter, however, becoming suspicious of Bahjat Khan's future intentions, suddenly escaped at night on November, 28, 1513, and took refuge with Sikandar's army which was on its way to Delhi.[42] This enabled Mahmūd II to enter Chanderi in triumph, and after receiving assurances of loyalty from Bahjat Khan, he returned to Shādiābād.

After some time when the misdeeds of Mahmūd's Rajput minister, Mèdnī Rāè, had once more antagonized the Muslim nobles, Bahjat Khan again made overtures to Sultan Sikandar Lodī who sent 'Imād al-Mulk to ensure that Sikandar's name was recited in public prayers throughout Chanderi. This was followed by the dispatch of a committee of five eminent *Amīrs* to administer the territory in the name of Ṣāḥib Khan[43] who was also allowed to return to Chanderi, but was kept in virtual internment. Bahjat Khan, realizing that all power had slipped from his hands, made his way to Sikandar's court at Agra, and Chanderi

41. Both Bhīlsah and Dhamonī were included by Abu'l Faḍl in the Raisin *Sarkar*. 'Abdullah, while narrating the story of two brothers who went from Agra to Raisin to seek a fortune over there, has casually mentioned that Sikandar Lodi's army was stationed at the Raisin fort. Mushtāqī, who has described the same story, does not, however, refer to the presence of any Lodī soldiers at Raisin, nor is it corroborated by any other authority. See *Ā'In-i-Akbarī*, tr. II, 199, "Dā'ūdī" (S.O.A.S.) MS p. 57, Aligarh text, p. 65, "Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī", MS p. 57.

42. Ḥasan Khākī "Muntakhab", fol. 142b, "Majāmi' al-Akhbār", fol. 342b.

43. In *TA*, I, 332, and other works which have drawn upon it, he has been described as Muhammad Khan, grandson of Nāṣir al-Dīn. Probably, Ṣāḥib Khan's title, Muhammad Shah, has been changed to Muhammad Khan, but he was Nāṣir al-Dīn's son, and not grandson. Moreover, Muhammad Khan's name has not been mentioned in Vol. III of *TA*, while that of Ṣāḥib Khan has been omitted from Vol. I of the same work.

According to "Tārīkh-i-Alfī" (quoted in *Mir'at*, tr. p. 250 N), Sikandar also sent 12,000 soldiers to accompany Ṣāḥib Khan, but this is not mentioned by other authorities.

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became a protectorate of the Sultanate of Delhi.[44] Ṣāḥib Khan outlived Sultan Sikandar, whose successor, Ibrāhīm, continued to recognize his nominal claim by appointing Shaikhzādah Manjhū to govern the territory on his behalf.[45] After his death, however, the Sultan expelled his young son, Ahmad Shah, and formally annexed Chanderi.[46] It was assigned to a brave and distinguished *Amir* Miān Ḥusain Farmūlī, to enable him to continue the hostilities against the Rajput state of Mewar. Ibrāhīm was, in fact, anxious to get rid of the powerful Farmūlī chief, and shortly afterwards, had him treacherously murdered by a group of Shaikhzādahs led by Shaikh Farīd of Daryābād who received a reward of 700 *Muhrs* and ten villages from the Sultan.[47] In consequence of this tragic

44. Sultan Sikandar Lodī had realized the strategic importance of Chanderi which was regarded as the gateway to Malwa, and his earlier conquest of Narwar was a prelude to its acquisition. The town was situated in the midst of a beautiful valley, surrounded by hills, and was very prosperous in medieval times. According to Abu'l Faḍl, it contained 14,000 stone houses, 384 markets, 360 caravanserais and 12,000 mosques. A much greater attraction to the conqueror, however, was its massive stone fort which stood 230 feet above the town. It was built by Dilāwar Khan and still bears an inscription of 814 A.H./A.D. 1411. The rampart of the old palace and some other buildings are also intact. For a general view, see plate ..... See also *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1925-1926, pp. 14-16, *Ā'īn*, tr. II, 196, *IG*, X, 163.

45. Shaikh Manjhū had earlier been sent to Chanderi by Sikandar when he was asked to accompany Malik al-Fuḍalā. Ibrāhīm appears to have withdrawn the committee of five Amīrs and left Shaikh Manjhū in the sole charge of the territory. See "Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī" MS p. 157, *Firishtah*, I, 350, Ni'matullah, *Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī* (Chr. Col. Cambridge) MS 120b, (India Office) MS 3772, fol. 922, A.S.P. Dacca text, pp. 241-242. This work which is largely based on *TA*, has repeated Niẓām al-Dīn's mistake by describing Sultan Muhammad (Sāḥib Khan) as the grandson of Nāṣir al-Dīn. See also S. H. Hodīvālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*. I, 498.

46. It is wrongly stated in *Firishtah*, text II, 531, that after the death of Mahmūd Khaljī II (see text below), Muhammad Shah ibn Sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn who had joined Bābur, was the only surviving member of the dynasty. The *Bābur-nāma* (p. 593) clearly says that "Muhammad Shah .... died in Sl. Ibrāhim's time, leaving a young son called Ahmad Shah whom Sl. Ibrāhīm drove out and replaced by a man of his own." Obviously it was Ahmad Shah who was later on favoured and patronized by Bābur, and not Muhammad Shah who died virtually as a prisoner of the Lodīs.

47. See the present writer's article on "The fall of the first Afghan empire in India" in the *Asiatische Studien*, Zurich, Vol. 14, pp. 125-151.

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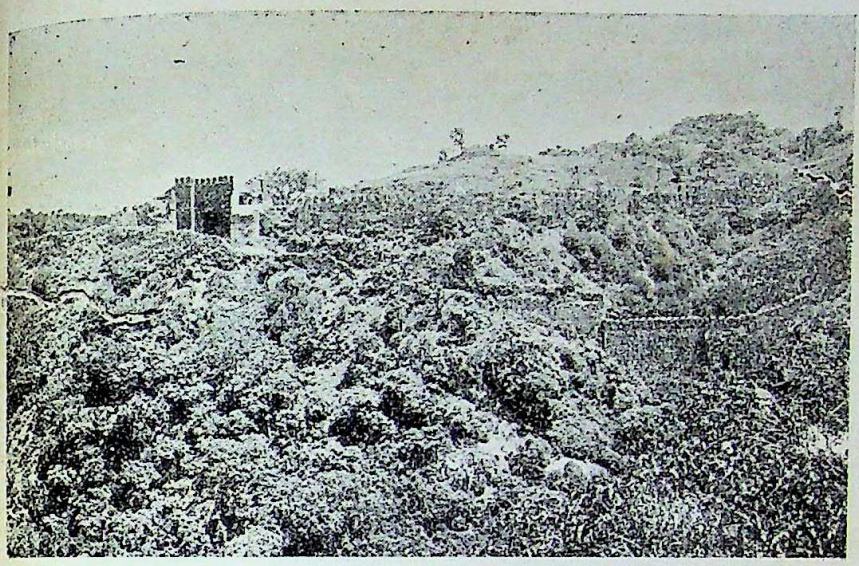
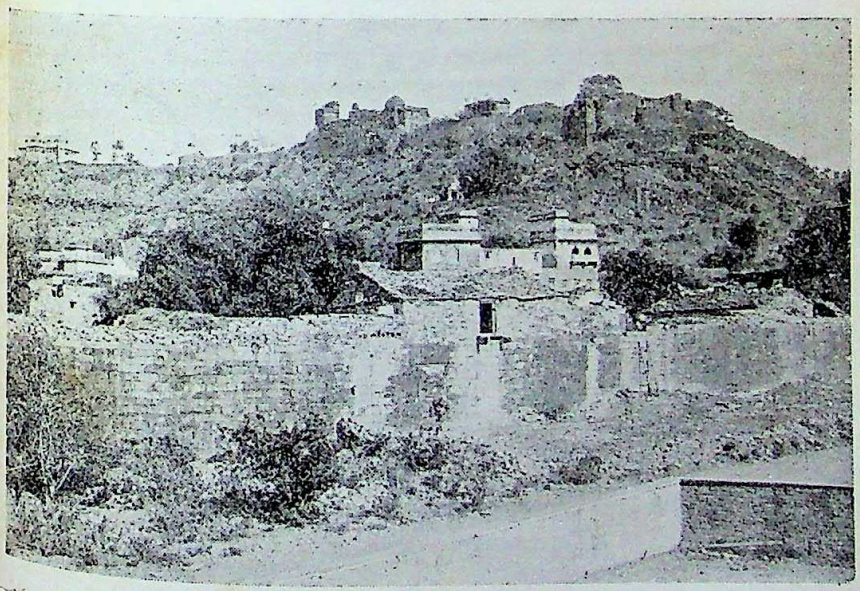


Fort of Gawilgarh — general view.



Fort of Chanderi — general view.

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incident, the territory was plunged into chaos which led to the attack of Rānā Sāngā of Mewar who defeated the Shaikhzādahs and after capturing Chanderī, gave it to Mèdnī Rāè. The Rajputs were also not destined to keep it for long under their control, for, early in 1528 the Mughal emperor, Bābur, conquered it and restored it to Ahmad Shah, taking care, however, to entrust its military collectorate to one of his generals, Mullā Āpāq.[48]

Another territory which lay within the territory of Malwa but later passed to the control of the Lodīs, was Nagaur. It was an important military centre and under Mahmūd Khaljī I, the armies stationed there were employed by him on some of his major campaigns.[49] The hold of his successors, however, became weak over distant governors and feudatories, and in 1509 Muhammad Khan, chief of Nagaur, found no difficulty in transferring allegiance to Sultan Sikandar Lodī. The situation was, in fact, forced upon Muhammad Khan by the hostility of his brothers, 'Alī Khan and Abū Bakr, who plotted against his life and he had nearly succeeded in overpowering them, when they managed somehow to escape and went to Sikandar's court to seek political asylum. But he forestalled them by announcing his own allegiance to the Lodī Sultan, who heard the happy news in the midst of a hunting excursion around Dholpur, and in the words of Niẓam al-Dīn, "obtained a kingdom as his prey."[50] Delighted with Muhammad Khan's submission, Sikandar sent him robes of honour and a horse. The Sultan also conciliated Muhammad Khan's rebellious brother, 'Alī Khan, by granting him the fief of Siwpur.[51]

Encouraged by the acquisition of Nagaur, Sikandar made an attempt to take over the possession of Ranthambor which his father had failed to capture. He sent secret agents to win over its governor, Daulat Khan, and invited the latter to a personal meeting at Bayana where he accorded his guest a very honourable reception. Daulat Khan was a youthful prince, and Sikandar, treating

48. *Bābur-nāma*, pp. 593, 598.

49. See "Ma'āṯhir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī" (Tubingen) MS fol. 233a, (Camb.) fols. 436a, 444b, (Bod., Oxford) fol. 185a.

50. *Dar 'ain mashghūli-yi-shikār mamlukatè ṣaid-i-ū shud.* See *TA*, text I, 331.

51. Modern Sheopur in the Nimar district. See *IG*, XXVI, 40, B. 2.

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him affectionately like a son, favoured him with robes of honour, horses and elephants. The prince as well as his mother had earlier agreed, at the instance of 'Alī Khan of Siwpur, to hand over the keys of the fort to the Sultan at the Bayana meeting which had been arranged for that very purpose.[52] At the last moment, however, Daulat Khan changed his mind at the secret suggestion of the same 'Alī Khan who had, probably, failed to get a reward for himself. The Sultan, finding the prince reluctant to surrender the fort, did not press the matter and allowed him to return to Ranthambor.[53] 'Ali Khan was, however, punished for his duplicity by the confiscation of his fief which was afterwards bestowed on his brother, Abū Bakr.

The Khāljī Dynasty of Malwa ruled for nearly a century. In 1531 Sultan Bahādur Shah of Gujarat attacked Māndu and captured the fort. Sultan Mahmūd Khaljī II surrendered, and was sent as a prisoner to Champānīr but was killed by his guards on the way near Dahod to frustrate an attempt by the Bhīls and Kols to rescue him. His body was buried at Dahod near the bank of the water tank.[54]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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52. Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab al-Twārīkh*, A.S.B. text. I, 322.

53. See *TA*, text I, 334, *Firishtah*, text I, 342. Muhammad Baqā has wrongly stated that the Sikandar's officers took over the fort of Ranthambor. See "Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā" (India Office) MS Ethè 126, fol. 296 a (King's College, Library, Cambridge) MS fol. 20b.

54. See *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī*, tr. p. 353, *TA*, text III, 408, 409, *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, text I, 187-188.

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ذات ملکی صفات حضرت خلافت پناهی را نسبت نسب با تراک خلج
که از اکابر و اعاظم دیار ترکستان اند از بدو فطرت بحلیه اصالت متحلی
و بحلی امارت سزیت همواره در ان دیار بمراسم سروری و قواعد سپهسا
لاری ممتاز و مستثنی بوده حدا علی قبیله خلج قالج خان است و لفظ قالج بکثرت
استعمال خالج شده چنانچه دبیران ترك در کتاب خویش خالج می نویسند
و او یکی از امرای نامدار و داماد چنگزخان بود و نسبت نسبش با فراسیاب
متصل است چنانچه در کتب تواریخ مسطور است و بواسطه مخالفتی
و منازعتی که میان او و دختر چنگزخان واقع شد خشم کرده با سی هزار
سوار در کابل آمد چون چنگزخان از دست ساقی اجل شربت فنا نوش
کرد قالج خان مراجعت نموده در سمرقند ساکن شد و توطن اختیار کرد
و از او و لاد و احفاد سه پسر ماند ایسن خان و کودرن خان و تولک خان
پسر خردش که از همه بدولت بزرك و سزاوار سریر پادشاهی بوده در
قندز نغلان آمد و آن خطه بمیامن مقدم شریفش معمور و مشهور
شد و در آن دیار بدولت اسلام مشرف کشت و او را دو پسر بود یك
پسر را امیر خرم بیك و دوم را امیر محمد بیك نام نهاد بود از امیر خرم بیك ملك
نصر الدین بزرك شد و از امیر محمد بیك ملك فیروز شد در زمان فتنه
عام که از هجوم لشکر تتار و فرق کفار سیل فساد نواحی بلاد را ازو کرفت و
عواصف ریاح فتن و هبوب صرصر محن در اکثر بقاع ایران وزیدن آغاز
نهاد خلایق در بوادی هموم و جبال غموم سرکردان شدند و مردم در رد
و پای حوادث لکد کوب محنت ماندند هر دو برادر از قندز نغلان که وطن

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مرز ومعینست که این نوع بخشش جز طلب رضاء حق واعانت بندکان
ضعیف نبود حق سبحانه وتعالی هریکیرا از ولادت دیندار وامراء اسلام
شعار توفیق رفیق کرده اند وظل ظلیل این خورشید برج سعادت وجمشید
سریر جلادت را تا انقراض عالم بر مفارق جهانیان مبسوط وممدود دارا(د)
در بن اثنا جنان بمسامع علیه رسید که چون در قبة الاسلام دهلی بهدم
مراسم سلطنت واندراس اساس معدلت وانطماس بنیان شهریاری
وانعدام قواعد جهانداری وحدوث وقایع فتن ووقوع حوادث محن بحکم
لولا السلطان لاکل الناس بعضهم بعضا بوضوح پیوسته است زمرهٔ
سادات وعلما وفرقهٔ مشایخ وصلحا که از غایت فقر ونهایت عجز جلا
شده اند در قصبات وقریات جوار مانده وبسبب تعذر خرج وعدم
زاد وراحله بدرگاه عالم پناه توجه نموده آمدن میسر نمی آید وبمجرد
شنیدن این خبر بفرمان معتمد علیه را باخراج والاغ زاید از قدر کفاف
روان کرده اند وهمه را بحرمت تمام طلب فرمود لاسیما خدمت شیخ
الاسلام اعظم قدوة المشایخ فی العالم مقتدای اصحاب طریقت پیشواء
ارباب شریعت کشاف علوم حقیقت شیخ نظام الملة والدین محمود متع
الله المسلمین بطول بقائه طلب فرموده وبتعظیم وتبجیل هرچه تمامتر
آورد وازاقران واکفا بمزید لطف وعنایت اختصاص وامتیاز فرمود
وازوفور مرحمت جلیس ومشیر خود کردانید ومقالید معظمات امور
ومناظم مطالب جمهور بکف کفایت او سپرد غرض آنکه در طینت
میمون وطبیعت همایون محبت ارباب علم واصحاب دانش مخمرست و
ذات ستوده صفات او را مکارم اخلاق ومحاسن اشفاق من المهد الی

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ذ نهمت عالی مه مراجعت رضا نداد و تا اعادی بر ضعف سپاه حمل نکنند
و نقش بحیف بر بازگشت بدین زودی رخصت نفرمود تا بر عدم موت لشکر قیاس
نمایند و در اثنای این اندیشه عرایض خوانین و ملوک میوات چون جلال خان
و احمد خان و حسن خان و مبارکخان و دیگر سران مبنی بر التماس به گفت موکب
چون باستخلاص دار الملک دهلی در پایه سریر اعلی بموقف عرض رسید
و مشاتیب آن اصحاب اغراض از سادات و علمای و ایمه دهلی به سبب محبوس شده
در کالبد استمالت جابر مستعد گشتند و بزبان نیاز عرضه داشتند که ضابط
دهلی در ارتکاب مناهی و ملاهی اصرار مینماید و به عهود و مواثیق قیام نمینماید
و سفک دمار و امید از خلق ماساز و امن جان نیست اگر بندگی حضرت پادشاه
دیندار بر حکم تعاونوا علی البر والتقوی همت پادشاهانه بر اعانت ضعفا و رعایت
فقرا گمارند و او را از بیراهی مانع و زاجر شوند بلکه آن ملک را در قبضه تصرف
بندگان دولت در آرند تا مسلمانان امن جان و فراغ دل بحصول پیوند
والحق بر عقول سلیم و اذهان مستقیمه این معنی مقرر است که استکفای
این مهم جز از کمال شهامت شهریاری میسر نگردد و تسکین این نایره جز به تیغ
جهانگشای خدایگانی انطفا نپذیرد زمانه به هزار زبان میگوید شب داج
ظلم جز از اشعه انوار خورشید رای جهان آرای آنحضرت روشن نگردد و ابر تیره فتنه
جز از صدمت عواصف قهر آنجناب متلاشی نشود لمؤلفه بجز جر بادپایان.
کس این کرد باور ندارد نداه ٥ اگر چنانچه در اعانت تاخیری و در رعایت
مسلمانان تغلقی چه بزشم بند متوطنان آن دیار جلای اختیار خواهند کرد چون
بندگی حضرت خلافت پناهی همیشه در مراسم دینداری بر مقتضای و امر
بالمعروف و انه عن المنکر کوشش فرموده اند و در اطفای نایره فتنه و فساد
سعی جمیل تقدیم رسانیده بجهت حادثه که در اسلام واقع شده عزیمت
بر صوب دار الملک دهلی بتاریخ شهور سنه خمس و اربعین و ثمانمایه مصمم

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ونمود جون جند کوچ متواتر متوالی جرانی همت رکفت نمود در هر منزلی
از علما و مشایخ و سادات و مشاهیر روی بدرگاه عالمپناه که ملجا فقرا
و ملاذ ضعفاست آورده بشرف بساط بوس شده اعلی مشرف میگشتند
و انعامات وافره و تشریفات فاخره از فواضل صدقات شهریاری می یا
فتند و در مدت پانزده روز تا رسیدن در نواحی دهلی مبلغ شصت
هزار تنکه خارج خلع و تشاریف و دیگر اسباب بغنیمت اموزدل شده
درین اثنا یوسف خان هندونی قصد پابوس کرده از هندون در سلک
زمره خدام ملحق شد در مجلس اول بیست هزار تنکه نقد و جامه بالا و رو و کلاه
و کمر بند سپید و اسپان با ساخت و با صد و یکصد قبا های معلم یافت
و ساعت فساعة درباره او مراحم موفور و عواطف نامحصور بظهور می پیوست
بنوعی که نقصان او را از شکستگی بمخالفت محمود خان او حد خان رو نموده
بود و اموال و اسباب بتاراج پیوسته فراموش گشت و همچنین منوال امرا
و مشاهیر که بدرگاه فلک اشتباه می پیوستند بانعامات و عنایات پادشاهانه
محظوظ می گشتند تا آنکه در موضع تلهت که دو کروهی دهلیست مضارب
خیام نصرت آثار ساخت جون سلطان محمد با اقبال با رایات ظفر پیکر مستقبل
شد و با نعطاف مرکب نصرت اثر وقوف یافت بادستی جون پنجه خیار
جدا از پا و با دل و دیده جون ابر و صاعقه پر آتش و فریاد جلادت
نموده و در تغلقاباد که یک کروهی دهلی است حصار پاس پشت و غله
پیش روی انداخته معسکر ساخت روز دیگر که شهسوار معرکه سماک تیر گذار
لشکر زنگبار روی آورد فرمان واجب الاتباع صادر شد که بندگی مسند
عالی و سلطان سلطان نشان صاحب صاحبقران خورشید سپهر جلال و ماه افق
اقبال نور حدقه شهریاری و نور حدیقه جهانداری ابو المجاهد غیاث الدنیا
والدین محمد ایده الله دولته و مسند عالی اعظم همایون در صدر سلطنت

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[1] اي کمينه معدن بهشت مرکز دايرهٔ شهرياري ونقطهٔ محيط کامکاري علاء الدنيا
والدين ابو المجاهد فدن خان خلد الله ملکه با سپاهي که مهندس اوهام نکته
کيست آن نتواند رسيد و محاسب افهام بر کيفيت طول و عرض او اطلاع حاصل
نتواند کرد لوله زيغ آزمايان مريخ عزم و زکشورگشايان پيروز رزم ٭
نه چندانکه داند محاسب شمار ٭ نهادند رخ جانب کارزار ٭ پيلاني که چون
شيرزه با يکديگر يکدم و دو گيتي بدم در کشند ٭ زشمشيرشان وقت نور
آفرين ٭ اجل نزايد وصدم ازدري ٭ بابيلان صف شکن آتش آهنگ
صهباي ارسشم بر سر دشمن تاختن آرد و بدانشان دست جز دو نيايد که بهرام
که مبارزه افلاک است از هيبت ان در چوخه چره گريزد و فرخ که پهلوان معرکه مبدان،
چهر جنت البيب الف عقاب هراسي بماند بر حکم فرمان چون شير که شکار ابد
خواهد و به اين که بصيرت در زد و آهنگ شيء مدوان شدند بسيط ملکه از حوات
نکته بيضه مضرابت سپيد خان بعد با خاقان باسران ديگر نبود و جر بي
کوه شکوه روانه کرده ثبت دربند معلوم مهدوسيا متقارب شدند ٭
لعلعه دو دريابي آتش بجنبش فتاد ٭ و در مرگ جدو نيا دشمن کشاد ٭
نسيم اجل رفت از دل شکيب ٭ زمين شد چو محشر همه پر نهيب ٭ و چاي
مدين با نمک خون فروشند و آورده هم چنين تا بنا بجوش ٭ زشر علمهاي زبان
نهاد ٭ چو لمعه که در بطن شيران فتد ٭ از برق تيغ و رعد کوس باران اجل
روان شد و از ابر خون ببارد شمشير در خاک هوکه معدن ياقوت ناب ودريا
چه ارکان لعل مذاب بديد آمد خنجر زبان سوسن در گلستان هنر ولاله
تيغ بيکنت واز و شهنه ضمراني در رياحين و در شقايق نعمان ميده و از آکره
سپر بسفت روي بيش بهمي ابدا تا بعد ازان گزان سنگ با سينه مجروح
شعلهاي گرد مي آورد و خدنگ سپر چون ناوک اجل سينه جنگ
آوران ميگذشت بهلوان جوکه باد که ٭ وميدان دلاوري نعوت

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بروی مردافکن سپاه خصم باد زخاک و خون مراغه میدادند و کس چرخ بینی
را ازتن کشتگان در میان خانه کیر و دار طعمه سیوستان و بلوچان در صدمه اولی
نسیم فتح و فیروزی بمشام جان همگنان رسیده حضرت اید پیوند ملازم شده پیله
مخالف را هزیمت افتاد و فرا ملود که از زنکیانی نکبت غبار ادبار بر چهره دولت
نشست و هزیمت یافتگان از تیز بخت بدکرد و مذلت چه زمین اقبال باریدن سخت گرفت
لمولفه روان شدند گریزان بهر طرف فوجی دل از نهیب سپاهیان
بسوز نگداز دهل دریده علم سرنگون و تیره دو تا بجای تیر همه ترکش و کمان انداز
فحوای سیهزم الجمع و یولون الدبر مصدوقه حال ایشان گشت چون روز روشن
عمر دشمنان بآخر رسیده بود ماننده ماه دولت ضمان آفتاب روی بمغرب
آورد منهیان فرمان رسانیدند که جمعی از بازماندگان که خود را در پناه فولاد و نشیب
کوهپایه بجل و عسی میدارند یک شب امان دهند و بسلامت و سعادت
معاودت نمایند اگر چنانچه آن گمراه روی براه بیاورد داشت انشاء الله تعالی فرمان
گوشمال داده آید که اطراف و جوانب متفحص گردند بر حکم فرمان لشکر منصور سلطان
و غازیان آمده بدرگاه جهان پناه پیوست چون خیال جمال زنگ بر فغفور چین
تاختن آورد و سپاه کواکب در سطح میدان افلاک بجولان و جلوه در آمدند
بندگی حضرت شهریاری که دیده دولت و اقبال با خاک عتبه جلالش توتیای
چشم جان و سرمه دیده جهانست روشن باد در بستر استراحت روی باسایش
آرام یافت و نرگس بیدارش در خواب آسایش غنودن گرفت بحکم ارباب
الدول طموح جهان مشاهده فرمود که بعضی انبداء خلاف و ردا الخلافه مخالفت
نموده اند و چنانچه عادت سپهر غدارست بعذر سر بر آورده و چتر بیوفایی بر افراشته
شور و غوغا بنیاد نهاده اند از مشاهده اینمعنی بندگی حضرت با تأملی و از ملاحظه
این واقعه تکدری ظاهر شد خواست تا باد فتنه را بتیغ انتقام تدارک فرماید فی الحال
آن جتر مروز را تیره شده بقلی منه رسن منطمس شده و آنکه سر غوغا و فساد و مایه فساد

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وقتی بود تا بیدار گشت ازین بشاشت چون بخت بیدار خویش از خواب برآمد فی
مواقع الحجه در خواب آن بیدار جهان مشاهده کرد بعینه در شادیاباد بعضی از راه
عذر خواستند که بنیاد شور و شر کنند مسند عالی خان جهان مندفع گردانید
بعضی از ائمه و سادات فرستاده سلطان نواب دولتمآب آمدند و از راه عجز و انکسار
عرضه داشتند و التماس نمودند که بجان و جهان امان باشد چرا که جمعی فقرا و بعضی
مساکین و مشغول کردن مقام ساکن اند همیشه بدعاگویی دوام دولت روز
افزون قیام نموده و مینمایند اگر از آنجا که رحمت بیغایت آن حضرت است قلم عفو بر جریده
سیئات و رقم امان بر صفحه روزگار ایشان کشند تا از حیات اثری و از جان
رمقی بعد تن خواهد بود سر از ربقه اطاعت نخواهند پیچید و هر فرمان که صادر شود
مصراع جان کمر وار بر میان بسته ٭ در اتمام آن سعی مجهود بتقدیم خواهد رسید
چون سادات و ائمه الحاح و ابرام فوق الحد بعرض رسانیدند و عجز و اضطرار خویش
مانع نکردند لمولفه از خدا ترسی که شه را بود ٭ مرحمتها نمود و جان بخشود ٭٭٭
جان ندارند چون جهان قدری ٭ شفقت کردش و جهان بخشود تا بدانند خلق دهر
یقین ٭ که این چنین کرد و او چنان بخشود ٭ حضرت صاحب قرانی بحکم والکاظمین
الغیظ والعافین عن الناس والله یحب المحسنین التماس ایشان بعز اجابت مقرون
گردانید و بجان و مقام و مال امان داد و از آنجا هم در شب بکوچ متواتر عزیمت
بمستقر جلال مصمم فرمود باندک روز در دار الخلافه شادیاباد در غره محرم سنه
ست و اربعین و ثمانمائه نزول فرمود والحمد لله رب العالمین و صلی الله علی
محمد و آله اجمعین در ذکر عمارت قصر جهان نمای و باغ دلگشایی و حوض نالجه
بعد از چند کرت که معمار مقرنس خانه افلاک بخشت زرین خورشید مطموره خاک
را معمور ساخت رای جهان پیما که از نوادر قصور جهانست التفات فرمود و الحق
یکی از طراز کسوت تماشا ٭ روزنامه مفاخر عمارت باغ و کوشک جهان
نما و حوض و گنبد نالجه است که هر یک از صفای عقیدت و کمال حسن نیت بانی

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درحرکت آورد در آینه جهان آرای صواب چنان نمود که بر صوب آموده سپاهی
بامداد و تقویت خان اعظم شیرخان نامزد شود تا تسخیر قلعه باسانتر صنعتی میسر
گردد بنابرین خان اعظم خواصخان که از هیبت کره پیشانیش کره در کار اعداء افتد
و از نهیب چین ابرویش حال دشمنان چون چین زلف بتان پریشان گردد و خان
اعظم مقربخان که از عطسهٔ دم قهرش نفس صبح در سینه شام شکسته شود و از صولت
خنجر عنفش آفتاب در نیام ظلام مختفی گردد با چهارده هزار سوار که هریک چون
کوهی روان و چون اژدها دمان بلکه هریک بلاء جهان و آفت جان جهة استخلاص
و استیصال آموده متعین شد سران نامدار با سپاه خونخوار نعل عجلت بر آتش عزیمت
نهاده نوندان تیز رفتار تندخوی عزم را تنگ سرعت تنگ برکشیدند و متوجه آموده
شدند بعد توجه متجنده بتاریخ هفتم ماه شعبان بدلالت هادی دولت و مؤنت
مهدی سعادت سیخزاده محمد فرملی رسول سلطان بهلول ضابط دهلی مصاحبت
رای زاده کبور چند بسر رای کیرت سنگهه رای کالیور در پایه سریر اعلی که ملجا و ملاذ
اکاسره جهانست بشرف بساطبوسی درگاه آسمان اشتباه مستسعد گشتند و خدمتی
سلطان بهلول از اسپان بادرفتار و نوندان آتش کردار لمؤلفه

ازان تازی اسپان تاتاری اصل : بتک یاد را کرده یاوهم وصل :
همه تیز رفتار ترکی نژاد : بهنگام تک واپس افکنده باد :
فلک داده از کهکشان کاه شان : چو راتب از خرمن ماه شان :

و شاهبازان آهوشکار که کرکس چرخ از نهیب شان پر میریزد و نسر طایر از خوف
چنگالشان در آشیان غراب میگریزد و آزان جمله لمؤلفه

شکاری یکی باز بربسته چشم : مشکل ز قهر و مجسم ز خشم . چو بگشاید از خشم و کین چشم باز
بود آفت کبک و دراج و قاز : غضبناک مرغی که اندر هوا : شود آهوان را قیامت نما :

ظلام مختفی
تاریکیها پنهان

نوندان
اسپان

ملجا ملاذ
پناهگاه جای پناه
اکاسره مستسعد
پادشاهان نیکبخت

غراب
زاغ

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کلنکان کرفتار چنکال او :: بحیرت عقابان زکوپال او :: با دیکر تحف و تنفیسات
بموقف عرض رسانید و از درکاه عالمپناه که مامن ضعفا و ملجاء فقراست استمداد نموده
از استیلا و استبداد سلطان حسین ضابط هونبور استغاثت کردند و از قواعد ملک
داری رمزی چند باد ارسانید التماس ایشان بشرف قبول تلقی فرموده بانعامات کرا
نمایه و تشریفات کران پایه سربلندی داد و اجازه انصراف ارزانی فرموده روز دیکر
سمند خوشخرام عزیمت خسروی با باد صبا همعنان کشت جان همکنان در رکابش
روان شد در روز جمعه بیست و دوم ماه شعبان عمت میامنه کوشک فتحاباد که از نوادر
قصور جهان و بنزهت و نضارت رشک قصور جنانست مضارب خیام دولت
آشیان ساخت سراپرده آسمانجاه طناب رفعت در کلوی اختر انداخت
و میخ بر سینه کوی اغبر زد قبه بارکاه عالمپناه سر سربلندی برقمه ماه رسانید
و منجوق مظله کردون احتشام در جکر انجم خلید الحق جون همای رایت
خدایکانی جناح رافت بر سر ساکنان چندیری کسترد زمین آن دیار که از سالها
باز در آرزوی مقدم شریف بود ازین خرمی کلاه بر آسمان انداخت و کوه کران
هیکل از میامن قدوم همایون در تواجد آمده سنکریزه از نشاط جون ذره رقص
اعادتها و دست چنار که جون کیسه کریمان تهی مانده بود ازین بهجت زرافشانی
پیش کرفت و غنچه که از تنک دلی لب بسته میداشت ازین شادمانی جون کل دهن
بخنده بکشاد جون حوالی آن نواحی از تاثیر دولت روزافزون شهریاری
جون باغ ارم خرم کشت و نواحی آن حوالی جون روضه رضوان بیغم شد دران
منیع فتح و مقر نصرت جهت انتظام مقاصد امور و انتساب مطالبه جمهور
جندکاه وقفه فرموده آمدیم بر قصه خواصخان جون لشکر نامزدی متوجه استخلاص
آموده شد جند روز از آن بیشتر بیشینه لشکر بیشتر کرده بود و قریب آموده

رسید

تحف تنفیسات
تحفها جیزهای کرانمایه
مامن ضعفا
جای امن ضعیفان
استغاثت
فریاد خواستند
نزهت نضارت
پاکی سبزی
مظله
میزبان
جناح رافت
پرهای مهربانی
انتساب
آراستن
نظام
رشته
بیدن

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کوه و خبث شرک پاک گشت پیش دولت ابد فتح بسامع جلال به سایه علم سعادت
محوای فرده ظفر بر جریده اقبال همایون ثبت گردد چون این چنین فتحی نامدار از
ذرانه مکارم گشاینده فتح حق جل جلاله میسر شد و چنین نصرتی کامکار از مخزن
مواهب بخشاینده مطلق هم بغرالة روی داد حضرت خلافت پناه بر عادت
ستوده و اخلاق حمیده از روی بنده نوازی که شیوه آن کرم است
در مرحمت گشاده خلع شاهوار و کمر و تاج نامدار با توقیعات مشتمل
بر ایالت افضل عنایات مرحمت فرموده روان گردانید بعد فراغ تاریخ
شانزدهم ماه شوال بنابر آنکه ذات بی همتای و رای مملکت آرای
عمده و استظهار انام و ماده وثوق ایام بیت بر طبق میعادی که
بیشتر با شاهزاده محمد فرملی و رای زاده کیور جیند شده و فرمانها بنفاذ
پیوسته مسند عالی قطب خان بن اسلام خان لودی بوکالت سلطان
بهلول المصاحبت رای معظم کیرت سنگه پسر رای دونگر سپه سالار که سریر
اعلی توسل جسته در سلک بندگان درگاه منتظم گشته تمام انعام و افضال
بر ساخت آمال ایشان باریدن گرفت و بزلال احسان بیکران لب تشنگان
تنار اسیراب ساخت و از عواید انعام بی پایان و فواید جواد افغان همه را ممنون
عوارف و مشمول عواطف گردانید خلعتهای مرصع و تاجهای مکلل و اسبان
تازی و فیلان جبادی ارزانی داشت هر نفری را پنجاه هزار تنکه انعام فرموده
سربلند گردانید چون خاطر خطیر از وظیفه مهمان نوازی پرداخت نسیم عنایت
خسروانه بمشام جان ایشان وزیدن گرفت زبان استشفاع برگشادند و بوسایل
درماندگی و عجز بعرض رسانیدند که اگر مکارم اخلاق پادشاه مثال و رهید کیفیت
حال خویش بموقف عرض رسانیم و ملتمس خود در پایه سریر اعلی بازنماییم درخواست
از عواید حمایت خسروانه آنکه دستگیری افتادگان کرده همت گمارند و لشکری
بمعاونت و مددکاری ما روان فرمایند تا جبین اقبال فرخنده فال آنحضرت

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از تعرض جفاي لشكر مغرق ومزاحمت ايشان مخلص روي نمايد چند بعضو ديكر از
اسرار ملكي بار بجاي همايون رسانيد مقرر آنكه اگر حضرت صاحب قران
ست مبارك كشف اين معضله كرده دو عنان ضمير منير بر رفع اين حادثه معطوف
گردانند و بزبان كرم مخزن و قبول اين نعم بكوشش باز بندگان رسانند هر سالي
اين بنده با شتقل هزار سوار خودان كاري و دليران كارزاري امداد.
كرده هر گاه كه موكب رايات ظفر آيات بمهمي نهضت فرمايد در سلك خدام دركاه
اعلي منسلك گردد و هنگام مراجعت چون در دهلي نزول افتد خطبه بنا يند
با مضافات و توابع ولوا مي تسليم كماشتگان آيد حضرت خلافت پناهي
كه بتقويت ضعفا مجبول است بر وفق حديث الراحمون يرحمهم الرحمن ماجد ر
مواجب امداد رغبت نموده و راي مملكت آراي را بر آنچه معاقد خطابيت
كماشته صحيفه اقتراح ايشان برقم مرحمت مرقوم گردانيد و مطاوي ملتمسات
كرده را بعنوان قبول مشرف فرمود الغرض هر كه روي ارادت بخورشيد
مراد آرد از فيضان اشعه انوارش نصيبي كامل و حظي وافر يابد و هر كو دست
در شاخ اقبال مقبلي زند از ثمره سعادت بي نصيب نماند بعد از تقديم اشارت
كه توقيع منشور بشارت است بشرف وداع ارزاني داشته اجازه انصراف
مرحمت فرمود فرمان و [illegible] اميد ضد ان مراجعت نمودند روز ديگر كه فلك
هودج زريني مهد بر پشت نقره خنك سپهر بر نهاد خورشيد فلك سلطنت سمند
تيز گام اقبال را زير ران آورد و كميت سعادت بر جنبه رواني بر و ابواب دو
دور كاب مكنت كامران بوتانيه يزداني با ظفر الغنان عزيمت بر صوب
دار الملك جهة معطوف گردانيد اما از حرارت تموزي مزاج جو اشتعال نار استحالات
پذيرفته از تأثير سموم كوه و صحرا چون كره اثير در تابستان آفتاب بحدي بود
كه اگر زحل بسر پنجه بهمن وزان ماه اتفاق سير كردي مريخ آسا آتش گشتي و اگر ماه
جهان بجادران طايق سلوك گيسوي مي بود جرم سها برحمت دق مبتلا شدي

درحال

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MODERN PERIOD

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Bihar Affairs in 1756-58

BY

Dr. K. K. Datta

After capturing Calcutta in June, 1756, Sirājuddaulah returned to Murshidābād on the 11th July celebrating his victory with great pomp. But he had to meet a new danger due to the design of Shaukat Janj to contest the *masnad* of Bengal with him. Mir Jafar sent a secret letter to Shaukat exhorting him to march into Bengal to capture its *masnad,* by assuring him of his support and that of some other generals in Murshidābād. Shaukat Janj himself was too ambitious to require any such goading. In fact, he had himself started conspiring with some members of the Delhi court and managed to obtain from the Wazir Imād-ul-mulk permission to seize the *masnad* of Bengal by promising him a bribe of crore of rupees. But inordinate ambition had turned his head. As Karim Ali, the author of the *Muzaffarnamah* who was then at Purneah, states, the "character of Shaukat Janj was naturally violent and impulsive, and it now became more rude and vicious". Ghulam Husain, the author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,*[1] describes how the stupefying influence of drugs and flattering proposals and false representations of sycophants had made him abnormal and increased his vanity so much that he ignored sincere advice of his well wishers and dismissed many of the old officers of his army with indignities. When Rāsh Behārī, an officer of Sirājuddaulah, reached Rājmahal and forwarded him a letter of his master for giving peaceful possession of that area, he in his insolence and thoughtlessness sent an offensive reply to the effect that he received from the Imperial Court "the patent of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa", in his own name but that in view of his kinship with him he would spare a part of Dacca for him where he should retire forthwith and live as his Deputy.

1. He was then in Purneāh and was an eye-witness of the battle of Manihārī.

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The inevitable contest soon broke out. Sirājuddaulah stated with his troops for Purneah on the 24th September, 1756, to oppose Shaukat Janj. Summoned by Sirājuddaulah to his assistance, Rājā Rāmnārāin, Deputy Governor of Bihār, "set out", writes Ghulam Husain, with Rājā Sunder Singh (of Tikāri) Pahālwān Singh of Bhojpur, and his brother Suther Singh, at the head of a force of Azimābād (Patna), which alone could not be less than the double of the forces of Shaukat Janj, but which at any rate might have been a great deal more than equal."[2] Rājā Dhiraj Nārāin, brother of Rājā Rāmnārāin was asked to look after the affairs at Patna during the latter's absence on this expedition. The advanced position of Sirājuddaulah's army, under the command of Mohan Lāl, had already crossed the Ganges at Rājmahal and by way of Hāyātpur and Basantpur Gola reached Manihārī in south Purneah. The other portion of the Bengal army and the Bihār troops under Rājā Rām Nārāin marched at some distance behind.

Meanwhile Shaukat Janj's army had encamped at Nawābganj, four miles north of Manihārī. Referring to this position, the eye-witness Ghulām Husain writes that it was "surrounded every where by lakes and morasses so that there was no approaching it but by a narrow passage, that ended in narrow causeway. The lakes were every where two or three cosses over and deep; and in some places, where they might be accessible in dry weather the passage had been barred by deep ditch and a rampart; so that the post had become very strong. The post was approved of on all hands; but what is singular, the Commanders of the troops, especially of his cavalry, out of disgust against his indecent way of speaking, were desirous of encamping at a distance from him; and himself, out of mistrust to them, was not pleased with having them for his neighbours. So that whilst the cavalry was marching to the rendezvous orders were sent to the troops to encamp on the shore of the little river, Sonrā, which was about a coss-and-a half, or even more, from his own tents; and these last had been pitched within the entrenched part. In consequence of such a disposition the principal commanders encamped at too great a distance from each other".[3] In such a situation concerted action

2. *Siyār*, Vol. II, p. 206. 30,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry besides field pieces according to *Dastur-ul-Insha*, *J.B.R.S.*, 1938.
3. *Siyar* (English translation), Vol. II, p. 207.

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was impossible. Shyām Sunder, a Bengali Kāsyastha was commander of Shaukat Janj's field artillery. But coming out of *jhil* he took a position in the plain, "without any natural defence before him, a mile in front of his side on their east.[4] About four-miles west of him, behind the *jhil* were the regular cavalry and other Purneah troops. Shaukat Janj's tents were pitched in the centre, three miles east of his cavalry and about a mile west of the artillery.

Actual fighting started on the 16th October after one third of the day had passed. The result was complete rout of the Purneah army. "Many of the Purneah troops were slain and wounded; many who had reached the other bank were captured; the rest broke, recrossed the *jhil* and fled away without having once had the chance of drawing their swords".[5] Shaukat Janj was on his elephant in a state of bewilderment with only fourteen men, when a musket ball thrown on his forehead killed him. His jewelled turban rolled down to the ground.[6] The battle was over by sunset and the survivors in the Purneah army were not chased. They (including the historian Ghulām Husain) ran away to their houses without being molested in any way.[7]

Mohan Lāl was left at Purneah to regulate its affairs and to take possession of the wealth and property of Shaukat Janj. He was to be assisted by Mir Kāzim *Risāldār*, Bāl Krishan *Hāzārī*, Kishwār Khān Asis and Mirzā Zain-ul-Abidin Baqāwāt. On the attack of a serious illness Mohan Lāl returned to Murshidābād leaving his son to administer Purneah.[8] According to Yusuf Ali and Karam Ali, Rājā Rām Nārāin received special favours from Sirājuadaulah for his services. He was secretly ordered to keep under surveillance Omar Khān, Mirzā Ghulām Ali Beg and some others, who were suspected of conspiracy with Mir Jafar. Mirzā

4. *History of Bengal.* Vol. II, p. 479.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
6. Karam Ali notes that some people "carried it as a present to Sirājuddaulah."
7. *Siyar* (English translation) Vol. II, p. 214. Ghulām Husain came to Patna and, after a short stay there, proceeded to Benares.
8. *Muzaffarnāmāh*, fs. 57a-57b. The author of this work was kept among the prisoners at Purneah for 19 days, but was released at the intercession of the Nawāb's mother.

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Ghulām Ali Beg, Mirzā Hākim Beg, Ahmad Ali Khān, and Hasan Quli Khan were kept confined in the *Hāveli* of Hāji Ahmed (brother of Alivardi) in the centre of the Patna City. Paraganā Mānpur (Gayā district) and the *mahāls* which formed the *Jagir* of Hakim Beg Khan and his sons were confiscated. Umar Khan with 700 troopers and his two sons, Dabil Khan and Asālat Khan were imprisoned in the garden of Jāfar Khān (just east of Patna City). All "these prisoners obtained their release after the murder of Sirājuddaulah; only Umar Khan, who had been disgusted with life, died in prison".

Sirājuddaulah returned to Murshidābād "in gold-decorated boats with every pomp".[9] He was now at the zenith of his prover and prosperity, as the historian Ghulām Husain observes. But his star soon began to pale. Probably in a false sense of security Sirājuddaulah thought that the capture of Calcutta was too strong a blow on the English to enable them to regain it, and so he did not follow up his success in Calcutta by striking against the English at Fulta.[10] "It may appear matter of wonder", observes Scrafton,[11] "why the Soubah (Nawāb) permitted us to continue so quietly at Fulta, till we were become formidable to him, which I can only account for from his mean opinion of us, as he had been frequently heard to say, he did not imagine there were ten thousand men in all Feringhistan (meaning Europe) and had no idea of our attempting to return by force". M. Jean Law also notes that the *Nawāb* "was very far from thinking that the English would entertain the idea of re-establishing themselves by force".[12]

If this was the Nawāb's idea he was disillusioned soon. Admiral Watson and Clive arrived at Calcutta by the middle of December, 1756, with a force which they considered "to be sufficient to vindicate" their "claim".[13] They recovered Calcutta by the first week of February, 1757, and the Nawāb had to conclude a treaty with the English, known as the treaty of Alinagar, on the 9th February. By this treaty he agreed to confirm what the latter

9. *Muzaffarnāmāh*, f. 576.
10. Orme, Vol. II, pp. 79-80.
11. Scrafton, *Reflections*, etc., p. 61
12. Hill, Vol. III, p. 176.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 76.

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claimed as their old privileges and to pay restitution and compensation money for the losses of the Company, its servants and tenants. He also granted to the English permission to fortify Calcutta and to coin *siccas*. Clive rightly described the terms of this treaty as both "honourable and advantageous for the Company".[14]

But the treaty of Alinagar did not mean a lasting peace. Other circumstances soon disturbed Bengal politics and embarrassed the Nawāb so much that he failed to make proper judgment of affairs and to take correct decisions at critical moments. On the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe a clash between the English and the French in India became inevitable. The Nawāb's alliance at this time with the French, who were the natural enemies of the English, would have probably placed him in a position of advantage. But he failed to effect such an alliance, and his formal protest against the desire of the English for attacking the French possessions in Bengal proved to be of no avail. In the third week of March, 1757, the English captured Chandernagore, and M. Renault, the French Chief there, surrendered it on the 23rd March, 1757, after "a gallant defence".[15]

The capture of Chandernagore meant the extinction of French influence in Bengal, where their other settlements were soon occupied by the English, and also adversely affected their position in course of their conflicts in other parts of India by depriving them of Bengal resources. For the English it was an immense gain in that period of complications in international and Indian politics. "In short, nothing would have happened more seasonable", wrote Clive to the Select Committee at Fort. St. George on the 30th March, 1757, "for the expeditions re-establishment of Calcutta than the reduction of Chandernagore. It was certainly a large, rich and thriving colony, and the loss of it is an expressible blow to the French Company".[16]

14. *Clive's Letter to the Secret Committee, London,* 22nd February, 1757, Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 239.

15. *Ives' Voyage*, p. 131.

16. Hill, Vol. II, p. 307.

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In order to "effectually root them (the French) out"[16a] of Bengal, the English pressed upon the Nawāb to surrender the French fugitives at Cāssimbāzār and to expel all Frenchmen from his dominions. Clived used, as he himself says, all his endeavours to prevail upon him to agree to these, and Watson threatened him by writing to him that "if he continued to protect the King's enemies he would light up a flame in his country, that all the waters of the Ganges should not quench".

Intimidated and embarrassed Sirājuddaulah committed the fatal mistake of discarding his earlier resolution to protect the French in Bengal and asked M. Law, the Chief of the French Factory at Cāssimbāzār, to quit the province. According to Ghulām Husain, the author of *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, Sirājuddaulah observed at the time of Law's departure, "if anything new should happen, he would send for him again". "Send for me", replied Law, "rest assured, my Lord Nawab, that this is the last time we shall see each other. Remember my words, we shall never meet again". It proved to be prophetic observations. Law reached Patna on the 3rd June, 1757,[17] and was well received there by Dhiraj Nārāin, brother of Rājā Rām Nārāin. Dhiraj Nārāin had received instructions from Sirājuddaulah to furnish Law with one or two thousand musketeers, some boats and travelling expenses.[18]

For about four months, March to June, 1757, Rājā Rām Nārāin was engaged in an expedition against the Rājas of Mai and Sadar in the Gayā district,[19] and Dhiraj Nārāin was in charge of the affairs at Patna. For some reason or other payment of the allotted amount to M. Law was delayed so much that the latter reached near Rājmahal to help Sirājuddaulah when it was too late.[20]

We have it in Clive's own statement that by that time Sirājuddaulah "had fulfilled most of the Articles of the treaty made"

16a. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
17. Hill, *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 104
Hill, *Bengal in* 1756-57, Vol. III, p. 209.
18. *Dastur-ul-Insha, J.B.O.R.S.* 1938; Orme, Vol. II, p. 191. According to a letter of Sirājuddaulah, intercepted by Clive, the Nawāb wanted that Rs. 10,000 should be paid to M. Law.
19. *Dastur-ul-Insha, J.B.O.R.S.*, 1938; Broome, Bengal Army, p. 171.
20. Siyār, Vol. II, (English translation), p. 236.

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with the English.[21] But that did not save him from embarassment. In fact, Sirājuddaulah's fortune was waning fast. Some of his principal military and civil officers, like Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan, Yar Latif Khan, and Rai Durlabrām, in collusion with Omichānd and Jagat Seth, the great banker of Murshidābād, formed a conspiracy against him with the English East India Company with the object of removing him from the Bengal *masnad* and placing Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan upon it. They may have certain grievances against Sirājuddaulah. But there is no doubt that self interest of the conspirators was the guiding motive in this ignoble transaction on their part. Watts, who was then at Murshidabad and played a leading role in the pre-Plassey transactions in Bengal, observes that "Discord spread itself through the Subās Court, where the only Oracle that every man consulted was his own Interest".[22]

Clive wrote to Mr. Watts for "the forming of a party to join" them "in case things should come to extremes, which many circumstances concurred to facilitate".[23] Scrafton observed in his letter to Mr. Walsh from Cassimbazar, dated the 9th April, 1757: "We ought to be taking measures in case things should take that turn. Give Mr. Watts a hint of this, the least encouragement, and he will be setting about forming a party in case of the worst. How glorious it would be for the Company to have a Nabob devoted to them."[24] Watson wrote to Clive: "I am glad to hear that Meer Jaffier's party increases. I hope every thing will turn out in the expedition to your wishes and that I may soon have to congratulate you on the success of it". The conspiracy matured by the beginning of June, 1757, and on the 5th of that month Mir Jafar entered into a secret treaty with the English.

On getting information about this deep laid conspiracy, Sirājuddaulah was somewhat bewildered. He tried to placate Mir Jafar and made an appeal to him for reconciliation. Mir Jafar promised fidelity in words though he had treachery in his heart. Sirājuddaulah committed a great blunder by still permitting Mir

21. *Ibid.*,
22. Watts, *Memoirs of the Revolution in Bengal*, p. 74.
23. Scrafton, *Reflections*, etc., p. 79.
24. Hill, Vol. III, p. 343.

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Jafar to continue as the Commander-in-chief of his army, "If the Soubah erred before", observes Scrafton rightly, "in abandoning the French he doubly erred now, in admitting a suspicious friend to continue in charge of a great body of troops, of whom self defence would have taught to make use of for his own preservation".[25] With treachery rampant all round Sirājuddaulah's cause was foredoomed to failure, and the inevitable happened on the 23rd June, 1757, when in the field of Plassey he was betrayed by those on whom he could legitimately rely.

Retreating from the battle-field Sirājuddaulah found no support or solace in his own metropolis, the city of Murshidābād, and took a desperate step. In the night of the 24th June he left his capital in a changed dress with only a few attendants and his devoted consort Lutf-un-nisā Begam in his company. He ran away to Bhagwāngolā on the Padmā, and there took a boat for going to Patna where he expected assistance from the Deputy Governor, Rājā Rām Nārāin, who "was a faithful adherent to his family", and also from the party of Frenchmen under M. Law. But cruel destiny did not spare him even in this period of distress. Fatigued and hungry he halted near Rājmahal for a meal on the 30th June but was recognized by a Muslim Faqir named Dānā Shāh who is said to have suffered at his hands previously. Dānā Shāh immediately sent information about his arrival to Mir Daud, Faujdār of Rājmahal and brother of Mir Jafar Khan. Under his orders Sirājuddaulah was brought to Murshidābād under a strong guard and in great secrecy on the 2nd July. Here was the climax of his tragic career. In a state of utter humilitation he entreated every one, writes Ghulām Husain,[26] "to obtain a pension for him, and a corner of ground, where he might live forgotten; but no one heard him". At the instigation of Miran, son of Mir Jafar and a youth of abominable character, an ungrateful wretch named Muhammadi Beg, who had received various favours from Sirājuddaulah's parents, brutally murdered him in the night of the 2nd July.

In the course of his departure from Bengal, Sirājuddaulah had written a letter to M. Law to come to his assistance. Probably

25. Scrafton, *Reflections*, etc., p. 89.
26. Siyar, Vol. II, p. 239; Scrafton, *Reflections*, etc., p. 99.

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this letter did not reach M. Law in time due to obstructionist tactics of the *Faujdar* of Rājmahal.[27] In fact, M. Law reached Sakrigali, near Rājmahal, a few hours before Sirājuddaulah's capture, when it was too late to offer him any effective help.[28] M. Law soon started back for Patna. But he could not stay there for long. The victors of Plassey were determined "to clear Bengal entirely of so restless an enemy to the English"[29] and sent a detachment from Murshidabad on the 6th July under Major Coote to chase M. Law and his party. Passing through Belgutta (Belaghāti), Suti (9th July), Dogātchy (9th July), Rājmahal, Sakarigali (14th-16th July), Teliāgarhi, Shahabad (16th-17th July), Pirpainti, and Colgong, he reached Bhāgalpur on the 18th July. Here he received a letter from Colonel Clive, along with which were enclosed other letters from the Nawāb to the different Rājās, Jamādārs and Faujdārs "ordering them to supply the Major with everything he stood in need of".[30] At mid-night he got a letter, dated the 16th July, from Mr. Pearkes, Chief of the English factory at Patna,[31] informing him that "the French had passed by that city, and were going on to the extreme boundaries of the province". Their force, he said, consisted of about 100 Europeans, 125 Coast and 40 Bengal Sepoys, 8 field-pieces, and 9 patteraroes."[32]

Leaving Bhāgalpur on the 19th July and passing through Monghyr, Hybātganj, Nawābganj and some other places on the way, Major Coote reached Bykuntpur on the 25th July. Here he received information from Rājā Rām Nārāin that the French had already left the province and that he would consult Major Coote about what should be done then on his arrival at Patna. The Chief of the Dutch factory at Patna sent his second "to attend the Major" and conduct him into the city. Mr. Pearkes also waited upon him. Major Coote arrived at the English factory at Patna at 10 A.M. on the 26th July. While passing by the Dutch factory he "was saluted with 21 guns" and was visited by Mr. Delatour,

27. Hill, *Bengal in* 1758-57, Vol. III, p. 210.
28. Siyar, Vol. II, p. 236.
29. *Ives' Voyage*, p. 156.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
31. The old English factory at Patna was re-opened by Mr. Pearkes in July, 1757.
32. *Ives' Voyage*, p. 162.

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Chief of that factory.[33] The same day Major Coote captured the French Factory at Patna, where its Chief, M. Dela Bretesche, was ill. The Military and other servants of the French factory had accompanied M. Law.[34] On hearing of the march of Major Coote, Law had left Patna and was at Dināpur on the 16th July. After halting at Chāprā, M. Law and his party reached Ghāzipur in the territory of Shujā-ud-daulah, the Nawāb-Wāzir of Oudh, on the 25th July. Major Coote reached Chāprā on the 2nd August in pursuit of M. Law, but on being informed there of his movements thought that it would not be advisable to proceed further against him. His officials also were of the opinion that they should return to Patna.[35] He resolved to wait there for further orders from his authorities.[36] In the night of the 3rd August two spies came to Major Coote from Petera (a town 14 miles north of Chāprā) and informed him that Dunserām, the Rājā of that place "was collecting forces, and every day people were joining him from the north, and that he had already with him about 3000 horse, 1500 foot, and four pieces of cannon."[37] Questioned repeatedly by Major Coote, Pheroo Sing, an officer of Rājā Rām Nārāin observed that "the several Rājās of the country after the death of Seraju Dowlah, thought themselves no longer obliged to pay the balance of the revenues to Jaffer Ali Khan (Mir Jafar) but insisted on a *Furketey* or full discharge being granted them, for which purpose they were assembling troops, and taking every other measure to prevent any demand being made upon them."[38] Denserām was, however, soon forced to submit.

On the 11th August, one Denaut Khan, a *gomastā* of Khwājā Wāzeed, complained to Major Coote that the second of the Dutch factory was about to take by force the salt-petre he had collected for the English. Major Coote prevented it.[39] Soon Major Coote received a letter from Colonel Clive authorizing him to support their agents in the collections of salt-petre against any one who

33. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
34. S. C. Hill, *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, p. 112.
35. *Ives' Voyage*. p. 169.
36. Orme, Vol. ii, p. 193.
37. *Ives' Voyage*, p. 169.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
39. *Ibid.*

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obstructed it. So he issued the following order on the 15th August, 1757: "Whereas the salt-petre belonging to Coja Ashruff is collected and provided for the English Company; let no person touch it, or interupt him in expediting the said saltpetre. Moreover, if any persons have seized or carried off any of it without his consent, let it be immediately returned to him by those who have it in their possession, as they will answer the contrary".

The battle of Plassey was decisive in its results, as it sowed the seeds of British Political supremacy in Bengal. But in Bihar, its Deputy Governor, Rājā Rām Nārāin, and some members of the territorial aristocracy, such as the Muhammadan Zamindār of Narhat-Samāi (lying south-east of Zillah Bihār, partly in the Patna district and partly in the Gayā district), Sunder Singh, Zamindār of Tikāri (Gāyā district), Pahalwan Singh of Bhojpur (Shāhābād district), and Bishun Singh of Siris Kutumbā (in the Gāyā district), were not easily and immediately reconciled to its effects. Unimpeachable evidence of various contemporary sources shows that Rām Nārāin was faithful to the family of Sirājuddaulah.

Mir Hasan, a contemporary Urdu poet, writes that on hearing of the tragic end of Sirājuddaulah, Rām Nārāin atonce composed a verse in Urdu, English rendering of which is as follows: "Oh Gazelles! you being in the know can tell about Majnu's death. The distracted one is dead at last; but how has the deserted, desolate region fared?".

Rām Nārāin's attitude was not liked by those who were responsible for the change. In fact, intrigues were engineered against him by Muhammad Āmin Khan, step-brother of Alivardī and the brother of Mir Jafar's first-wife, and Mir Muhammad Kāzim, the elder brother of Mir Jafar and then a *Baksi* (pay-master of forces) of Rām Nārāin. They poisoned Major Coote's mind against him when the latter was at Patna by telling him that the French party had escaped from Bihār at the connivance of Rām Nārāin, whom they charged of corresponding with Shujāuddaulah of Oudh, on the death of Sirājuddaulah, to help him against the English.[40]

40. Orme, Vol. II, pp. 191-92, Scrafton, *Reflections*, etc., pp. 103-104; *Ives' Voyage*, p. 167.

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Whatever might have been the attitude of Rām Nārāin towards Major Coote when he first came to Patna, he soon realised the futility of any opposition to the English and had to reckon with the accomplished facts. Major Coote also was prudent enough to think of a settlement with Rām Nārāin. He had returned to Patna on the 13th August and on the 15th August met Rām Nārāin in full *darbar* at Patna, where "he was treated politely".[41] Through the mediation of Major Coote, another conference was arranged at Patna on the 22nd August, where Major Coote, Muhammad Amin and Mir Kāzim Khan were present, and all professed friendship.[42] On the 29th August, Major Coote received a complaint from Mr. Pearkes, Chief of the English factory at Patna, that the people of Khwājā Ashruff, an agent of Khwājā Wazeed for salt-petre trade in Bihār, had ill treated his own people and so he solicited the Major's help. Immediately on receipt of this complaint, Major Coote wrote to Khwājā Ashraf "ordering him to wait upon Mr. Parkes and deliver up to him those people who had used him ill, otherwise that he could go himself and find them out".[43] He communicated the contents of this letter to Mr. Pearkes and also informed him that, if there was any necessity, he would proceed immediately to his assistance. Leaving Patna on the 7th September, Major Coote reached Murshidābād on the 13th September, but was detained at Cāssimbāzār for a few days due to his illness.

Purneah proved to be one of the centres of trouble for the new Nawāb. Nāzir Ali Khān, who had usurped the Government there by driving out Mohan Lāl in the period of confusion following the death of Sirājuddaulah, raised the standard of revolt (early in October, 1757) against the new authority with the support of Achal Singh, a Hindu Officer of considerable ability who had been diwān of Shaukat Jang. On getting information about it, the Nawāb consulted Clive, who asked him on the 2nd October, 1757, "to take the field as soon as possible" promising him assistance "with his force and advice". The Nawāb selected Khādem Husain Khan,[44] a man of tyrannical and rapacious disposition, for

41. *Ives' Voyage*, p. 172.
42. *Ibid.*, 175; Orme, Vol. II, p. 195.
43. *Ives' Voyage*, p. 174.
44. An ungrateful man of in famous character, who, though cherished in his youth by Ālivardi, proved extremely cruel to the mother of Sirājud-

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the Government of Purneah and deputed him on the 6th October with 6000 Cavalry and infantry to suppress the insurrection there. But the troops refused to march unless they had received their arrear pay. In fact, only 3000 of them moved with Khadem Husain and reached Rājmahal, where they halted waiting for the rest of the detachment and the payment of their arrears. On the request of Mir Jafar, Clive "sent orders for 500 fighting men or as many as" the former thought necessary to join Khadem Husain.[45]

Khadem Husain Khan crossed the Ganges near Rājmahal towards the end of November, and wrote circular letters to the prominent persons and the civil and military officers of Purneah with various promises with a view to winning them over to his side. But after encamping near Purneah he wrote to Mir Jafar for additional reinforcement. Mir Jafar asked Mir Cazem to march quickly to reinforce Khadam Husain Khan. But unwilling to share the victory with some one else, the latter hastened his march before the arrival of Mir Cazem Khan. Deserted by most of his troops, Nāzir Ali Khan fled away from the battle-field. Khadam Husain then entered the city of Purneah on the 9th December, 1757, and stayed in the palace built by Sayed Ahmad Khan.[46] Achal Singh was traced out and forced to surrender all that he had received during the previous administration.[47] Some of the chief supporters of Hāzir Ali Khan "were overtaken and made prisoners".[48] By taking severe steps he extorted money from them. "Such violences" remarks Ghulām Husain, "made his administration odious and rendered his person an object of taunt and reproach; but he seemed to pay little attention to it; and, indeed he had not delicacy enough to feel the detestable part he had chosen to act; and, provided he made much money, he little minded the detestation of an incensed public."[49]

daulah when she was weeping out of the *purdā* on hearing of the tragic end of his son.

45. *Clive's Letter to Mir Jafar*, 19th October, 1757.
46. Siyar, Vol. II, pp. 254-56.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Clive's Letter to the Secret Committee*, dated 23rd December, 1757.
49. Siyar, Vol. II, p. 256.

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Mir Jafar had neither character nor ability needed for effective administration. Even Clive, the chief actor in the drama of 1757, had a very poor opinion about him. He wrote to the Secret Committee on the 23rd December, 1757: "In laying open the State of this Government I am concerned to mention that the present Nabob is a Prince of little capacity, and not at all blessed with the talent of gaining the love and confidence of his principal officers. His mismanagement threw the country into great confusion in the space of a few months, and might have proved of fatal consequence to himself, but for our known attachment to himself .....". Probably under the influence of Miran, Mir Jafar manifested some designs against the English, to counteract which the latter sought to strengthen themselves, as Scrafton writes, "by forming a party in his court to be a continued check upon him".[50] It was one of the considerations that led the English to espouse the cause of his officers like Rāi Durlabh and Rājā Rām Nārāin.

Mir Jafar was not well disposed towards Rām Nārāin, especially because of his attachment to the family of Sirājuddaulah. His intention was to remove Rām Nārāin from the Deputy Governor-ship of Bihār and to appoint his brother Mir Cazem Khan in this post. As a matter of fact, Mir Jafar left his capital with an army and encamped at Giriā near Rājmahal and wrote from there an express letter to Clive requesting him to join him with his army there.[51] At this situation Rām Nārāin considered it advisable to form an alliance with the English for which he wrote to Clive on the 20th November, 1757.[52] The latter, out of very practical considerations, assured him of his protection on the 29th November, 1757, and wrote to him that he might come down with safety to meet the Nawāb. Scrafton significantly observes: "it would be a constant check on the Soubah (Nawāb), to have the Nabob of Patna devoted to us".[53]

Further, there were apprehensions that Shujāuddaulah of Oudh might invade Patna in alliance with the Rājā of Banares

50. Scrafton, *Reflections*, etc., p. 104.
51. *Letters from the Nawab to Colonel Clive, received* 4th November, 1757 and 25th November, 1757.
52. Siyar, Vol. II, p. 257.
53. *Reflections*, etc., p. 109.

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and the French.[54] On hearing that ten French ships had then arrived on the Coromandel Coast, Clive wrote to Rāi Durlabh on the 29th September, 1757: "Mons. Bussy may perhaps endeavour to form an alliance with Shujauddaulah and come this way. The intelligence I have received from Mr. Watts makes it necessary to give to the Nabob of Oudh sweet words till our Nabob has taken the field and arrived at Patna".[55] In a letter to the Nawāb, dated 30th September, 1757, Clive pointed out to the latter that should the French "enter into an alliance with Shujāuddaulah troubles might arise and affairs grow serious especially if the Bihar and Midnapore countries were not settled."[56]

To regulate the affairs in Bihār, Clive left Murshidābād on the 30th November, 1757, and joined the Nawāb' at Rājmahal on the 3rd December. Here by the end of that month a reconciliation was effected between the Nawāb and Rāi Durlabh. Clive wrote to Rām Nārāin on the 1st January, 1758: "I am fully convinced of the Nabob's good intention towards you, and the friendship that he has for you, and that he will continue you in your Government. .... We shall march tomorrow. I shall be in the van of the army; when you come I will myself go with you to the Nabob and be security for you". According to Ghulām Husain, Rām Nārāin managed to utilise the services of Govind Mal, whom the Nawāb had sent to him as his agent to persuade him to come down to the latter, to secure a letter from the Nawāb to suit his desire. The Nawāb signed this letter in a state of intoxication, and according to the above-mentioned author, it "contained an invitation to come over to the English camp, with assurance of his taking it upon himself to have him confirmed in his Government, and to see him secured in his life, property and honour, without being liable to called to any account whatever, for either the management of the revenue, or any other matter".[58] Rām

54. Letters from Omar Quli Khan, Agent for Nawāb Mir Jafar at the court of Shujāuddaulah. *Bengal and Madras Papers,* Vol. II, *Clive's Correspondence,* Letter No. 209.

55. *Ibid, Letter* No. 219.

56. *Ibid,* Letter No. 220.

57. Siyar, Vol. II, pp. 257-59. Govind Mal, referred to as Geramul in two contemporary English letters.

58. *Ibid.*

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Nārāin wrote to Colonel Clive on the 15th January, 1758 expressing his satisfaction for his assurances and promising to start soon to meet him.[59] He met Clive at Hybatganj on the 25th January.[60] The next day Rām Nārāin was sent by Clive to the Nawāb's camp, in the company of Mr. Watts, when he was formally received with the attention suited to his rank. The Nawāb asked Rājā Rām Nārāin to march in the rear ostensibly "to facilitate their communications on business, but in reality to mark his inferiority to the province."[61] As a matter of fact, the Nawāb's feelings for Rām Nārāin were still far from cordial, though under pressure from Clive he had accorded a formal reception to him.

Clive did not fail to understand this, and he became anxious when he did not hear anything from the Nawāb for a few days. He wrote to Rāi Durlabh and Āmir Beg Khan on the 3rd February: "According to the Nabob's orders I gave encouragement to Rām Nārāin to come here, and I delivered him to the Nabob, and further I agreed that he should be continued in his post, that he should enjoy his life, his credit and goods, but to this day I know of nothing that has been done for him. I hear that he is behind the army which surprises me very much. I therefore desire that when you are alone with the Nabob that you will inform yourself how his heart is inclined towards Rām Nārāin, whether he stands to the Treaty and write me of it that I may write accordingly to the Nabob. Till I have an answer to this I cannot write to the Nabob. This is a very important affair".[62] Clive was, however, informed by Rām Nārāin on the 4th February from his position then at a distance about four miles from Barh, where Rāi Durlabh was also with him for setting some important affairs, that the Nawāb had issued *parwanahs* to all the zamindārs that he continued in his Government.[63]

59. *Bengal and Madras Papers*, Vol. II, *Clive's Correspondence*, Letters Nos. 336 and 337.

60. Orme, Vol. II, p. 278.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Bengal and Madras Papers*, Vol. II, *Clive's Correspondence*, Letters Nos. 373 and 374.

63. *Ibid., Letter No. 379.*

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The Nawāb did not want that the English troops under Clive should reach Patna before him and so ordered one of his generals, Khwājā Hādee, to make a forced march to enter the City of Patna and should "permit no troops to enter the city without further orders".[64] But his plan did not succeed. Clive had encamped at Jāfar Khān's garden, east of Patna City, on the 5th February, and entered into that City on the 6th February with all his forces. Probably to isolate Rām Nārāin from Clive, the Nawāb asked the latter to go to Dināpur, about seven miles further on, as he himself wanted to encamp shortly at Bānkipur. Clive with his usual shrewdness moved to an island in the river Ganges at a distance of about one mile from the city.

Clive still suspected the Nawāb's intentions about Rām Nārāin and so sent Watts to the Nawāb's camp to sound him and to "complain seriously", as Orme writes, "of his conduct to Rām Nārāin, whom he had kept in the camp instead of permitting him to return with proper marks of dignity to the city, contrary to his promises at Rājmahal".[65] Watts met the Nawāb and had a long discussion with him. The Nawāb did not express his willingness to settle the affairs of Rām Nārāin before meeting Clive.[66]

Mir Jafar entered the City of Patna on the 11th February, with Rām Nārāin in his company, and his army remained encamped on the eastern side of it, instead of going to Bānkipur as he had already proposed. He continued his intrigues against Rām Nārāin with a view to appointing his brother in his place. So he asked Rām Nārāin to submit a full account of the revenues of Bihār for the last few years. This order perplexed Rām Nārāin, who complained against it to Clive. Determined to protect Rām Nārāin against the intrigues, Clive atonce advised the Nawāb to stop there. According to Ghulām Husan, Mir Jafar expressed angrily before Clive's agent: "What does it mean, my Lord. Shall I leave such a Government in the hands of Ram Narain, and behold my own brother without employments? What for, pray? And for whom?"[67]

64. Scrafton, *Reflections*, etc., pp. 109-110.
65. Orme, Vol. II, p. 280.
66. *Bengal Select Consultations, 18th February, 1758.*
67. Siyar, Vol. II, p. 263.

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Clive went to the Nawāb on the 14th February for the first time after leaving his company at Rājmahal and convinced him of the necessity of confirming Rām Nārāin in the Government of Bihār. The result of this interview of Clive with the Nawāb was thus communicated by him to Rām Nārāin on the 15th February: "Yesterday I went to wait on the Nabob; after discoursing on many matters he asked me if it was absolutely my desire that he should give you the Kilaut. I told him I had given my word, besides the great character I heard of you from every one that you were by much the fittest man for this Government on which the Nabob said, I will give you the Kilaut the first lucky day; you may now look on your affairs as finished. I wish you joy on this great event. Rest assured that I am your friend and always ready to serve you".[68]

While Clive was thus pressing the Nawāb for fulfiling his promises with regard to Rām Nārāin, there were again rumours that Shujā-ud-daulah was intending to invade Bihār, in alliance with the Marāthas and the Frenchmen under M. Law, and that Shiva Bat, the Marātha Governor of Orissā, had been deputed by the Marāthas to demand from the Nawāb the *shauth* of Bengal amounting to twentyfour lacks of rupees.[69] Probably these rumours had some effect on the course of affairs in Bihār and forced their quick settlement. On the 23rd February, Mir Jafar held a full *darbar*, which was attended by his chief officers and by Colonel Clive with the local English officers and agents, and where he formally nominated Miran to the Government of Bihār with Rājā Rām Nārāin as his Deputy. "The appointment of Miran", writes Orme, a contemporary British historian with several years' experience of affairs in India, "was merely nominal, not derogating from the authority of Rām Nārāin, which continued responsible to the Nawāb alone but rendering him liable to some additional presents; and the bargain for Rām Nārāin's appointment had been settled at seven lacks of rupees, which were exacted under the pretext of a balance remaining due on the adjustment of the accounts of the province".[70] Two powerful and refractory

68. Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II, *Clive's Correspondence*, Letter No. 397.

69. Orme, Vol. II, pp. 280-281.

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zamindārs of Bihār, Rājā Sunder Singh and Pahalwān Singh, also attended this *darbār* on assurance of safety from Clive.[71] Referring to the success of Clive's Bihār expedition in 1758, the Council in Calcutta informed the Court of Directors on the 31st December, 1758 that it "produced all the good consequences we would wish for, as it reconciled Rām Nārāin, the Patna Subah, and Jaffier Ally Cawn, secured him in the Nabob's interest, quieted the disturbances in Poorneah, and deterred the Nabob of Oude from attempting anything against the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom".[72] "No favourable opportunity was let slip, no single occasion lost", writes Watts, "that could be turned to the Company's advantage".[73]

Clive availed himself of this opportunity to secure from the Nawāb the exclusive grant of saltpetre farm for the English East India Company, reserving 20,000 maunds a year for the Nawāb's own use. Further for this exclusive privilege the English Company were to pay annually Rs. 15,000 to the Nawāb and Rs. 10,000 to Rām Nārāin.[74] When the Dutch protested against it, Clive produced a letter showing that only a year back they had tried to obtain such a grant for themselves not only for saltpetre but also for opium.[75] However, the English agreed to supply the Dutch with the quantity they wanted to purchase.[76]

The English Company obtained many advantages through this exclusive privilege, as saltpetre was one of the most important articles of investment, particularly because of its demand for manufacture of gunpowder. "The advantages of having this exclusive privilege in our hands are so many and so apparent", wrote the Council in Calcutta to the Court of Directors on the 31st December, 1758, "that we think it would be needless to say a great deal upon that head. We shall however beg leave to point out two or three that appear to us of the utmost importance. First,

70. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Bengal Letter to Court*, 31st December, 1758, para 64.
73. Watts, *Memoirs of the Revolution in Bengal*, p. 128.
74. *Bengal Letter to Court*, 31st December, 1758.
75. K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, p. 385.
76. *Ibid.*

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the Company by virtue of this *perwannah* will always be secure of a sufficient quantity of petre at a very moderate price for their homeward bound shipping and the uses of their other Presidencys. Next, it will prevent the French from being supplied with this article by Danish vessels, as we shall take care to dispose of none of the surplus quantity, which we shall sell to the Dutch and our own country shipping at the market since of it in Calcutta."[77] "The sanad for the saltpetre I have received. You have done me a great favour and I am much obliged to you" wrote Clive to Mir. Jafar on the 15th March, 1758. According to Watts, by this privilege the English Company were "annually gainers of about two Lack and a half of Rupees, or something more than thirty Thousand Pounds Sterling."[78]

Clive returned to Murshidābād on the 15th May, 1757, and proceeded to Calcutta on the 24th May, Mir Jafar came back to Murshidābād on the 30th May, 1758. But his brother, Mir Kazem Khan, who remained at Patna, continued to harass Rām Nārāin. Clive thus protested to Mir Jafar on the 7th June, 1758:[79] "I have just received news from Patna which gives me great concern, that Meer Cossum is creating great disturbances there, and that Rām Nārāin thinks his life in danger from him. Your Excellency well remembers that in consultation together it was thought fit for your interest that Meer Cossum should not be left at Patna but come down to Munadavad (Murshidābād) and your Excellency wrote me to the same purpose, instead of which he still continues these, and if he is not immediately recalled, I plainly foresee your affairs will be ruined there. .... Rām Nārāin is a good man in the heart and will be always faithful to you if he is not drove to despair by those who are your enemies as well as his". Mir Kazem had to leave Patna within a few days on getting immediate orders for it from Mir Jafar.

About the middle of April, 1758, Mir Jafar had received a *firman* from the Mughal Emperor, Alamgir II, confirming him in

77. Para 67. Also para 10 of *Bengal Letter to Court*, dated 22nd October, 1758.

78. Watts, *Memoirs of the Revolution in Bengal*, p. 128.

79. Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. III, *Clive's Correspondence*, Letter No. 514.

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the Government of Bengal. Clive also felt that by that time he had been able to settle his affairs satisfactorily. Thus he wrote to Alamgir II on the 17th April, 1758: "Having accompanied Nabob Jaffer Ally cawn thus far in order to settle the affairs of Bihar, I have the pleasure to acquaint your Majesty that the three Subhas now enjoy perfect tranquillity, and that the Nabob increase daily in regulation and the love of his subjects." He also wrote on the same date to the Wāzir Imād-ul-mulk: "The affairs of the three Soubahs are now very happily settled, and Nabob Jaffer Ally Cawn increases daily in reputation and the love of his subjects. No one can be more devoted than he is to your Excellency. The English likewise wish for nothing so much as an opportunity of shewing their attachment to a Minister, the reputation of whose goodness and great abilities had reached the most distant nations".[80]

But this was an incorrect estimate of the exact state affairs and also of the Wāzir's character.

80. Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. III, Letters Nos. 485 and 486.

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Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck—A Revised Estimate of his Administration (1828-35)

BY

Dr. R. C. Majumdar

The memory of Bentinck is cherished with veneration and gratitude by every educated Indian, and he has gone down in Indian history as one of the most benevolent and sympathetic Governors-General in India. This feeling is no doubt, based on his four great achievements, namely, the abolition of the Sati rite, the introduction of English as the medium of imparting higher education, the extermination of the Thugs, and administrative reform, involving the recruitment of Indians to higher executive and judicial appointments. But this is only the bright side of the picture. There is also a dark side, which should be taken into consideration in order to form a just estimate of Bentinck's position in history. It is worth remembering that diametrically opposite views in this respect have been expressed even by contemporary English historians. Thus Thornton, the author of a History of India in six volumes, found nothing deserving of approval or worthy of record, except the abolition of Sati, during the unusually long administration of Bentinck. He further observed that "the administration of Bentinck" would appear almost a blank, and were all record of it obliterated posterity would scarcely observe the deficiency, while it is certain they would have little reason to regret it"? The extreme view in the opposite direction is expressed in the inscription composed by Macaulay and engraved on the statue of Bentinck. Here Bentinck is described as one who, among other things, "infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom; who never forgot that the end of Government is the welfare of the governed; whose constant study it was to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the Government committed to his charge; ...." I do

1. Thornton, Edward, *The History of the British Empire in India*, V, 284-5.

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not propose to discuss the truth or otherwise of these widely divergent views, but merely draw attention to one aspect of Bentinck's rule which, being little known, is not usually taken into consideration in making a proper assessment of his achievements.

This is the imperial outlook of Bentinck which he fully shared with all other British administrators of the 19th century, and which manifested itself in his dealings with the rulers of Native States in India. He was always eager to annex these States into the growing British Empire in India and took all means, fair or foul, to achieve this object. This is illustrated by his attitude towards the rulers of a large number of Native States to which a brief reference alone can be made within the short compass of this paper.

I. *Avadh (Oudh)*

It is well-known to students of Indian history that the political and military administration of the kingdom of Avadh passed virtually into the hands of the British, though they theoretically recognized it as an independent State. The dual control which gave all the real power to the British and left the responsibility in the hands of the Nawab, was productive of great evils, of which a lurid account is given in many official records of the British. How far this picture represents the actual state of things, and the extent to which the Nawāb alone must be held responsible for the misery of the people which undoubtedly existed, need not be discussed in the present context.

Lord William Bentinck, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, made an attempt to reform the ways of the Nawab. He personally visited Lakhnau in April, 1831, and uttered a threat in very plain language. He told the King that unless his territories were governed upon better principles, Avadh would share the fate of Tanjore and Carnatic, i.e., the British would take upon themselves "the entire management of the country and the King would be transmuted into a State pensioner".[2]

The threat of the extinction of Avadh as an independent kingdom had the desired effect. The minister, Hakim Mehdi, who had

2. Kaye, Sir John William, *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, I. 121.

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already effected some improvement in the administration, promised to exert himself more energetically, and even the King assured him his full support. But the same influences that had hitherto thwarted the efforts of the minister, were again exerted in opposing him. In vain did he turn to the Governor-General to help him in his laudable efforts. Commenting on this state of things Beveridge observes:

"Under these circumstances what was the duty of the British Government? Unquestionably to strengthen the hands of the minister, and more especially, when both he and his sovereign declared their inability to carry out the required reforms without extraneous aid, to furnish that aid liberally to any extent that might be necessary. Strange to say, the Governor-General, after interfering so far with the internal management of Oude as to threaten its existence as an independent kingdom unless certain changes were introduced, refused, when applied to, to give the least assistance in carrying them into effect, and with singular inconsistency attempted to justify the refusal on the ground that the policy which he had adopted would not allow him to interfere. In vain did Hakim Mehdi argue that by the treaty made with the Marquis of Wellesley, the right of interference, at least so far as to give advice, was distinctly recognised; that the interference now asked was certainly not greater than that which the governor-general had just been exercising, and that the British government by standing aloof was making itself responsible for the future maladministration of Oude, since 'he who sees a blind man on the edge of a precipice, and will not put forth a hand to hold him back, is not innocent of his destruction'. Lord William Bentinck remained immovable, and while complaining loudly of the domestic policy of Oude, obstinately refused to assist in improving it ..... From his refusal to strengthen the hands of Hakim Mehdi; that minister found it impossible to maintain his position, and retired into private life."

The retired minister published a defence of his conduct in a local newspaper, and the misgovernment in Avadh "advanced with accelerated pace". As Beveridge remarks, "the courtiers of Oude did not reason very illogically when they inferred, from the inconsistency and caprice which marked" the conduct of the Governor-General, "that the object at which he was aiming was not so much

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to improve the government" of Avadh, "as to find in prevailing abuses a plausible pretext for usurping it".[3] It is now known that, unknowingly they had divined the truth. For while Bentinck refused to interfere in the administration of Avadh he was seriously discussing various plans to bring that country under the direct control of the British Government.

II. *Gwalior*

Daulat Rao Sindhia died in March, 1827. His widow, Baiza Bai, was a scheming and intriguing woman, and her ambition was to rule the State for life. But she was prevailed upon by the British to adopt a son, in accordance with the wishes of her late husband. Accordingly a boy of eleven, Jankoji Rao, was adopted by Baiza Bai, but she continued to govern the State as Regent. She seems to have been engaged in various plots in order to keep the absolute power in her own hands during her life, and was encouraged in furthering her plans as the British authorities declined to interfere in the internal affairs of the State. Jankoji was virtually kept a prisoner in his palace. He, however, managed to escape to the resident and reported that his life was in danger. When Lord William Bentinck, paid a visit to Gwalior, he was approached by both parties. A definite decision on his part would have settled the dispute, but instead of that he gave Baiza Bai to understand that she might continue as Regent so long as she guaranteed the future rights of Jankoji, and told the latter that the British Government would prevent the Regent from doing anything prejudicial to his interests. This has been characterised by an eminent British historian, as "an equivocal advice, which being interpreted by Baiza Bai to mean that she was, if possible, to keep her power, and by Jankoji that he was, if possible, to wrest it from her, rather hastened than protracted the crisis".[4]

The advice given by Bentinck, bearing on its face marks of deliberate duplicity, may appear to be somewhat strange, but seems to have been part of a deep-laid conspiracy, if we can trust the accounts of Mr. John Hope, who once held the post of Superintending Surgeon of Sindhia's Contingent, and Surgeon to the Court of

3. Beveridge, H., *Comprehensive History of India*, III. 214-5.
4. *Ibid.*, 221.

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Gwalior. According to him, the Council in Calcutta was anxious to profit by the troubles in Sindhia's court. Accordingly "a demi-official letter was written to the Resident by the Chief Secretary of the Foreign Department, desiring him to learn at a private interview, by way of a feeler, if the Maharaja, encircled as he was by serious troubles,—troubles mainly caused by our Government—would like to resign, assigning over the country to the British Government and receiving a handsome pension, which would be paid out of his own revenues". The Resident declined to make the suggestion and thus, as the Deputy-Secretary of the Foreign Department admonished him, "allowed a favourable chance to escape of connecting the Agra to the Bombay Presidency". The Resident, Cavendish, was, of course, removed, and when his successor, Major Sutherland, waited on the Governor-General for instructions about the policy to be pursued in Gwalior, Bentinck "opened wide his mouth, and placed his thumb and finger together like a boy about to swallow a sugar-plum. Then turning to the astonished Major, he said "If the Gwalior State *will* fall down your throat, you are not to shut it, as Mr. Cavendish did, but swallow it; that is my policy."[5]

The desired opportunity of swallowing Gwālior was not long in coming, but that does not concern us here.

III. *Annexation of Mysore, Coorg, Jaintia and Cachar*

Historians of India have paid little attention to these annexations of Bentinck, and the *Cambridge History of India* devotes but a single sentence to each of them. Yet Bentinck's dealings with these four States fairly illustrate his policy of aggressive imperialism. Only a short war was necessary in the case of Coorg, while the other three were seized without firing a shot.

A. Mysore

The old Hindu ruling family of Mysore was restored to power after the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan in 1799. A boy of three years was placed on the throne and the administration was carried on by an able *Dewan*, named Purnia. In 1811 the minor king Raja Krishna Udaiyar attained majority and took over the administra-

5. John Hope. *The House of Scindia*. 26 ff.

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tion in his own hands. According to the British official version, there was gross misrule in Mysore for twenty years, with the result that the treasury was depleted and there was a rebellion which could not be quelled till force had been sent from Madras. During this period of twenty years the Governor of Madras more than once remonstrated with the Raja but no improvement followed. On September 7, 1831 Bentinck addressed a long letter to the Raja of Mysore stating the above facts and bringing some specific charges of maladministration and misgovernment. He concluded by informing the Raja that by virtue of the articles 4 and 5 of the Treaty of 1799 (which he quoted for ready reference) he has transferred the entire administration of the country into the hands of British officers "who will proceed immediately to Mysore".[6]

Thus the Raja of Mysore was dethroned with as little ceremony—or perhaps less—as is usually shown in dismissing a clerk in an office. Several interesting facts must be stated in order to form a proper judgment of the whole case.

The chief accusations against the Raja were made by Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, who was strongly opposed to the original plan of restoring the old Hindu family to the sovereignty of Mysore. In 1805, General Sir Arthur Wellesely had written to his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, in the following terms:

"I still fear the new Government of Madras, one of whose objects I believe is to overturn the existing system in Mysore, of which I have hitherto been the principal support".[7]

A high English military officer writes: "The hostility to the local self-government of Mysore became even stronger than before in Madras about the year 1820, and seems to have been strangely compounded of jealousy against native pretensions and partial independence, the greed of good appointments and a strong desire to obtain the salubrious and pleasant station of Bangalore either as the permanent seat of the Madras Government, or as an occasional residence for the Governor and his Councillors. This last consideration was even urged by Lord William Bentinck upon the

6. Bell, Major Evans, *The Empire in India*, 278.
7. *Ibid.*, 16.

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Court of Directors in 1834, as an argument in favour of that plan for dividing the Mysore territories between the Raja and the East India Company ....."[8]

In 1825, Munro visited Mysore and warned the Raja that, if the disorders in the State were not checked, direct interference of the British Government would be unavoidable. Now, under Article 4 of the Treaty which was invoked by Bentinck for taking over the administration of Mysore, it was clearly laid down that in case of maladministration which, it might be feared, would not leave in the treasury sufficient fund for the maintenance of troops, the Government of India shall have full right and power either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as may be deemed necessary for the improvement of administration, or to bring under direct British administration such part or parts of the territorial possessions of the Raja as may be necessary to make available sufficient funds for defraying the expenses of the army. But Munro imposed no ordinances or Regulations and allowed the abuses to grow until the outbreak of a rebellion gave sufficiently good pretext for taking over the administration, not of a part or parts but of the whole of Mysore.[9]

Bentinck's action was inspired by the highly exaggerated reports of the Madras Government,[10] and the Raja was given no opportunity to defend himself. How ill-informed Bentinck was may be gathered from a single instance. In his letter dethroning the Raja, Bentinck alleged that "the subsidy due to the British Government has not been paid monthly according to the Treaty of 6th July 1799". But the fact is, as Bentinck himself later

8. *Ibid.*, 17.

9. Sir Frederick Currie says: "The conditions of the 14th Article of the Treaty the British Government had themselves, it must be admitted, "failed to fulfil", when they systematically withheld from the Rajah the advice which, by that Article, they are bound to give to him in the conduct of every detailed department of the administration. Sir Henry Montgomery, Member of the India Council, wrote in his Dissent of July 13, 1863: "...it is well known and officially on record, that not only was no advice rendered, but that it was systematically and purposely withheld'" Bell, *op. cit.*, 16.

10. Munro had left on record his firm convictions that no good could come of the administration of the Raja, and his successor held the same view. (Bell—1, p. 20).

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indirectly admitted, that the subsidy had never been in arrears even for a day.

After taking over the administration of Mysore, Bentinck appointed a Special Committee of Inquiry into the affairs of Mysore. This Committee submitted its Report on December 12, 1833. The Committee condemned the Raja's misrule, but they included in their censure the period of Purnia's administration, and with the exception of a profuse expenditure, no new charge was brought against the Raja. The Committee held that the assessment all over the country had been screwed up by Purnia to a height at which it could not have been maintained for many years longer; and that the decline of the revenue since the minister's dismissal had not "been caused entirely by misgovernment", but was "partly attributable to causes which were beyond the control of the Raja's administration." The Committee also pointed out that at the same time, and for the same cause, namely oppressive taxation, there was an insurrection in the adjacent British district of Canara, where the assessment of land revenue was much higher than that prevailing in Mysore. The Committee further held that the rebellion which broke out in Nuggur in Mysore was not a popular rising caused by intolerable tyranny, but was chiefly the work of some interested persons, aided by British insurgents and sustained by a firm belief, universally prevalent throughout Mysore, that the British Government was in favour of the insurgents, and would not support the Raja's authority.[11]

The views of Bentinck were radically changed by the Report of the Special Committee of Inquiry as well as by his own local investigations. He also realised the unconstitutional nature of his act in taking over the administration of the whole of Mysore. All this is evident from his long despatch to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated April 14, 1834. He refers to the Raja in the following terms: "It is admitted by every one who has had an opportunity of observing the character of the Rajah, that he is in the highest degree intelligent and sensible. His disposition is described to be the reverse of tyrannical or cruel ..... I believe he will make a good ruler in future....." Accordingly Bentinck suggested that three districts of Mysore yielding suffi-

11. Bell, *op. cit.*, 25-6.

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cient revenue for the upkeep of the military force, should be ceded to the Company and the remaining three districts of Mysore should be restored to the Raja's direct rule.[12]

In this despatch Bentinck had the candour to admit that he could not help entertaining doubts, both as to the legality and the justice of the course that has been pursued. He then continues:

"The Treaty warrants an assumption of the country with a view to secure the payment of our subsidy. The subsidy does not appear to have been in any immediate jeopardy.[13] Again the Treaty authorises us to assume such *part* or *parts* of the country as may be necessary to render the funds which we claim efficient and available. The whole has been assumed although a part would unquestionably have sufficed for the purpose specified in the Treaty; and with regard to the justice of the case, I cannot but think that it would have been more fair towards the Rajah, had a more distinct and positive warning been given him that the decided measure since adopted, would be put in force, if misgovernment should be found to prevail."[14]

Thus Lord William Bentinck acted in haste and then repented at leisure. He should have appointed the Committee of Inquiry *before*, and not *after*, punishing the Raja, and he should have given more serious attention to the actual facts and the exact provisions of the treaty. His belated confession of guilt does honour to his head and heart, but brought no relief to the unfortunate Raja of Mysore, who was not restored to the sovereignty of either the whole or a part of his territory. It is somewhat singular that in spite of the confession of Bentinck himself, the British historians have fully approved of the action. Nor did this deplorable action make Bentinck much the wiser. For as we shall see he pursued the same unwise procedure in the affair of Coorg with more drastic consequences and irreparable mischief.

12. *Ibid.*, 22-3.

13. As noted above, there was no arrear in the payment of subsidy, and Bentinck used this disingenuous expression in order to avoid flat contradiction to his original charge that the subsidy was not regularly paid.

14. Bell, *op. cit.*, 22.

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B. Coorg

Mysore shows how the general process of annexation of weak states followed the usual pattern of giving the dog a bad name and then hanging it. This is more strikingly illustrated by the annexation of Coorg (Kodagu) which followed shortly after. Coorg was a small principality on the border of Mysore. The British had received considerable help from the rulers of Coorg during their war with Tipu and a treaty was concluded in 1790 by which the British 'guaranteed the independence of Coorg and the maintenance of the Raja's interests as long as the sun and moon endure'. Since then the rulers of Coorg had always been faithful to the British and not only invested large amounts in East India Company's Stock, but also advanced considerable amount to the Company. But shortly after the accession of Viraraja, the younger, in 1820, serious accusations began to pour in against him from the British officers. He was reported to have practised the most blood-thirsty tyranny, and a series of monstrous crimes, including wholeale massacre of members of the royal family, were attributed to him. The stage was thus set for his ultimate expulsion and the actual course of events, as officially related, may be summed up as follows:

Being persecuted by the Raja, his sister, together with her husband, fled to Mysore in 1832, and claimed the protection of the British Resident, Mr. Cassamajor. This led to a series of altercations between the Resident and the Raja of Coorg who demanded the surrender of the two fugitives. Other causes of difference soon arose. A rebel from Mysore, which was now being administered by the British, had fled to Coorg, and when the Raja was asked to send him back, he retorted by saying that his claims for the surrender of his rebel subjects, who had taken refuge in Mysore, were disregarded by the British. Cassamajor was gradually convinced of the hostile intention of the Raja who was reported to have increased his army. An envoy was sent to negotiate with him, but the Raja refused to see him on ground of illness. Later, two Indians were sent for the same purpose, one of whom, Karunakara Menon, was forcibly detained by the Raja on the pretence that he was guilty of carrying on intrigues against him. The Governor-General, who proceeded on a tour to South India, personally wrote to the Raja from Calcutta requesting, that either he himself or one of his agents might meet him at Mysore in order to adjust the existing differences. As no answer was received to

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this letter by the time the Governor-General arrived at Madras, he again addressed the Raja on the same subject, expecting to receive a reply at Bangalore. But no reply was received even to this letter, nor was the native agent released.

An ultimatum was given to the Raja of Coorg that unless Menon was released within six days hostilities would begin. On March 15, 1834, Bentinck issued a Proclamation of War against Coorg. It gave a long list of the charges against the Raja, among which the following were the major items:

1. Severe oppression and cruelty towards the people of Coorg.
2. Wanton disrespect of the authority of, and most hostile disposition towards, the East Indian Company.
3. Letters replete with insulting expressions to the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General.
4. Friendly reception and encouragement to the proclaimed enemies of the British Government.
5. Detention of Menon.
6. General attitude of hostility and defiance.

Immediately after the issue of this proclamation four British armies advanced against Coorg from four different directions. The Raja of Coorg also issued an appeal to his people to resist the invasion. But though the people fought bravely on all fronts, the result was a foregone conclusion. On April 6, the British force entered the capital of Coorg, Madikeri or Mercara, and five days later Coorg was annexed to the British dominions by a formal Proclamation.

The Raja, Viraraja, the younger, surrendered with his family on April 23. He was exiled, first to Bangalore, then to Vellore, and finally to Banaras.

There are good grounds to believe, that as in the case of Mysore, so also, in the case of Coorg, perhaps even in a greater measure, Bentinck was misled by the exaggerated reports of his officers. Fortunately there are some means to test the truth of the three main allegations against Viraraja, namely, his cruelty, his attitude towards his sister, and the detention of K. Menon. As regards the first, there is no independent and reliable evidence to support it. Even the British officer, Col. Fraser, who was in

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charge of Coorg after the expulsion of the Raja, admitted in his final report that 'there was no proof to testify to his cruelties.'[15] Mr. Cassamajor, the British Resident of Mysore, who went to Mercara (Madikeri), the capital city of Coorg, in 1826, to make enquiries on the spot, 'could not get any bad reports against the Raja' and Mr. Lewis Rice had to admit that 'his (Cassamajor's) account of the Raja was on the whole rather favourable'.[16] Some members of the royal family, alleged to have been killed by Viraraja, were shown to have died of cholera.[17] Serious charges were made against the Raja by a British officer, Mr. S. Greame, on November 6, 1833. The Raja asked him in writing to let him know the names of the parties he put to death, the place, the date etc. Mr. Greame wrote as follows to the Raja on November 17, 1833: "After many humble apologies, I beg to state that it was the mistake of the translator. I do not bring such charges against you and beg of you to forgive me and what I said was that you must prevent your officers from doing anything of the sort.."[18] It may not be out of place to mention here that the way in which Viraraja deported himself after his exile at Banaras elicited high praises from many Englishmen including Lord Ellenborough and Lt. Col. Carpenter, agent to the Governor-General.[19] No reference to all these is made by historians like V. A. Smith who pictures the Raja as a devil incarnate.[20]

Most scandalous insinuations have been made regarding the attitude of the Raja towards his sister, but there is no evidence worth the name. It has been suggested, that the sister had pretensions to the throne and, as is usual in native courts, made intri-

15. Muthanna, I. M., *A Tiny Model State of South India*, (1953), p. 69.
16. *Ibid.*, 61.
17. *Ibid.*, 94.
18. *Ibid.*, 93.
19. *Ibid.*, 75-6.
20. V. A. Smith writes: "He murdered all his male relatives and many of the females, often with his own hands....His adherents contrived a plot to seize Bangalore and overthrow the Company's Government" (*Oxford History of India, 1919*, p. 660). Smith cites no evidence for the charges. The first of these is directly contradicted by the British officers mentioned above. The second charge is not referred to by the contemporary historian Thornton, and is too ridiculous to be taken seriously into consideration without the strongest positive evidence.

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gues for this purpose. Ultimately, being foiled in her attempts, she fled with her husband. This version also lacks evidence, but in any case such a state of things is not unusual, and it is not unlikely that in order to poison the minds of the British and advance her own interests she manufactured all the tales of cruelty against the Raja.[21] As regards the detention of Menon, the Raja, it is said, suspected him to be a spy of the British on account of his not producing proper credentials.[22] The fact that the Raja did not detain the companion of Menon certainly goes in his favour. In any case the act of the Raja stands on the same level as that of the British in not surrendering the sister of the Raja.

It is therefore, difficult either to accept as valid the serious charges brought against the Raja, or to justify the *ex parte* decision of the British to dethrone him. But if this was bad enough, the annexation of Coorg was much worse. It has been justified on two grounds.[23] The first was the assumption that the Raja was childless. The fact seems to be that the Raja had more than one son.[24] He had certainly a daughter, who later accompanied him to England and embraced Christianity. The succession of females was well known in this part of India.[25] The official proclamation bases the annexation on another ground, namely "the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government".[26] This is a pet argument of the British which was frequently advanced to justify any annexation. It is, however, interesting to note that in not a single instance they chose to divulge how, when, and by whom the opinion of the people was ascertained. In the case of Coorg "the

21. Basu, B. D., *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, 776.
22. Muthanna, *op. cit.*, 64.
23. Thornton, V. 214-5.
24. Muthanna quotes the evidence of British officers to the effect that there were two sons of the Raja born respectively in 1821 and 1832. He also says: "The sons and the widow of the Raja who were in Benares (where the Raja lived in exile before he went to England) had sent men in 1865 to obtain wives from among the leading Codagu families (pp. 95, 96, 99).
25. The daughter of Viraraja, the Elder, ruled for two years.
26. Aitchison, C. P., *A Collection of Treatise, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. IX, p. 361.

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unanimous wish" was certainly a myth. In the despatches of Col. Fraser it is said that the people of Coorg desired that their Raja should be retained.[27] The feelings of the people may be ascertained from an Address presented to the Raja by 500 persons on April 13, 1834, "expressing their satisfaction for the manner in which he had conducted the State affairs from the beginning to the days of his dethronement ....." The removal of the Raja from his country, they continued, "causes us pain and brings shame to us."[28] When it is remembered that the Address was presented when the Raja had lost all power and authority over his people, the theory or perhaps pretention of the "unanimous wish" of the people for British rule appears in its true colour.

The money looted from the Raja was generously distributed as prize money among the British officers, Sir P. Lindsay received one-sixteenth of the whole amount and the other officers shared as follows:[29]

Colonels	Rs. 25,000 each
Lieut-Colonels	„ 15,000 „
Majors	„ 10,000 „
Captains	„ 5,000 „
Subalterns	„ 2,500 „

It may be ungenerous, but perhaps not unreasonable, to find in such distribution the incentive to wage hostilities against the Indian rulers and prepare the way therefor by attributing all the vices to them. On the whole it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the annexation of Coorg was pre-planned, the alleged cruelty and misconduct of the Raja, and the unanimous desire of the people for the British protection being merely lame excuse and concocted justification. Coorg lost its independence not so much on account of the contumacy or cruelty of its ruler, as for possessing, like Mysore, a salubrious climate agreeable to the British and, in addition, extensive lands eminently suitable for coffee plantation."[30]

27. Muthanna, op. cit., 96.
28. *Ibid.*, 74.
29. *Asiatic Journal*, May, 1836, p. 33.
30. In a letter dated April 17, 1834, the Governor of Madras drew the attention of Col. Fraser to the good climate and other agreeable features of Mysore and Coorg, and it is a reasonable assumption that the arbitrary

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C. Jaintia (Assam)

The Raja of Jaintia was confirmed in his possession after the first Burmese War. But after his death his successor was asked to execute a treaty agreeing to the annual payment of a tribute of Rs. 10,000. As the Raja refused, he was represented by the Political Agent as "a habitual promoter of the horrible rites of human sacrifice" and looked upon his participation in a pending case of this kind as 'proved beyond doubt', although there was no public inquiry and the Raja was never before implicated in the case which had been going on for a long time. Nevertheless Bentinck annexed Jaintia to the British dominion.[31] Even the court of Directors denounced the annexation and all the acts of the Indian Government leading thereto.[32]

D. Cachar

Cachar, another small State in Assam, also fell a victim to the aggressive imperialism of Bentinck. The ruler, Govinda Chandra, had no son and was not permitted to adopt one. So, after his death there were various claimants to the throne. The British Government rejected the claims of everyone of them on one ground or another. There was a Council of forty men of royal descent who claimed the right of selecting a king in such circumstanes but the British Government held that the right was not exercised for a long time and had therefore lapsed. The British Government refused to select a successor, and so annexed Cachar to the British dominion.[33]

It is in the light of the above incidents that we have to judge afresh the value of Macaulay's eulogium engraved on the statue of Bentinck which is usually regarded by the Indians at their face value. Is it possible to maintain that Bentinck, to use Macaulay's words, "during seven years ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence; and infused into oriental despo-

annexation of Coorg on false pretexts was greatly influenced by these considerations. Even an Englishman, Mr. Cassell, wrote: "Codagu's annexation was preplanned". (Quoted by Muthanna, p. 70).

31. For details, cf. R. M. Lahiri, *The Annexation of Assam*, pp. 145 ff.
32. *Ibid.*, 158-9.
33. *Ibid.*, 123 ff.

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tism the spirit of British freedom?" Referring to Bentinck's administration, another British historian, V. A. Smith, held that it illustrated the dictum of the poet that

> Peace hath her victories
> No less than those of war.

This is quite true, though in a very different sense, for Bentinck achieved the fruits of military victory without waging any war (excepting a nominal one in Coorg).

In conclusion reference may be made to another eulogium of Macaulay, viz., that Bentinck "never forgot that the end of government is the welfare of the governed". Unfortunately for Macaulay, Bentinck himself has confessed that any such human feelings in him were subordinated to his imperial instincts. Bentinck made a broad survey of the condition of India from the point of view of British imperialism in a minute recorded on 13 March, 1835, i.e., just on the eve of his retirement from India. He emphasized in it as the central fact that in India "one hundred millions of people are under the control of a Government which has no hold whatever on their affections". He held that "spread of knowledge and operation of the press weaken the respect (of the Indians) for European character and prestige for British superiority" and regarded the "higher elevation of character, knowledge, improved morality, courage, etc., on the part of the Indians as internal evils from the point of view of the British Government."

These few lines are most revealing and give lie direct to the assertion of Macaulay quoted above; they really prove that Bentinck never forgot that the end of government in India is the welfare of the British empire. In order to avoid misunderstanding it is necessary to add that Bentinck was in no way exceptionally guilty in this respect; he was neither much better nor much worse than the other Governors-General of India with perhaps the notable exception of Lord Ripon.

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KERALA HISTORY

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A New Approach to the Study of the Kannaki Cult

BY

V. T. INDUCHUDAN

At the beginning of the Christian era, what is generally known as the 'Kannaki Cult' was very popular in South India. It swayed the imagination of all classes of people in the three kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pandya and even Ceylon. The origin of the Cult is narrated in the great Tamil epic, "Silappadikaram." The story is well-known. It can be summarised as follows.

Pukar or Kaviripattanam was a great sea-port at the mouth of the river Kaveri in ancient Tamilakam. In this city there were two wealthy merchants, Manaykan and Machatuvan. Manaykan had a daughter named Kannaki, a beautiful young lady, chaste, pure and charming. Machatuvan had a son called Kovilan who was handsome and able. The merchants agreed to unite their children in marriage. The wedding of Kannaki and Kovilan was performed in pomp and glory. Husband and wife soon became devoted to each other. At that time the ruling Chola monarch of Pukar was Karikal, the Great. He was one of the most powerful kings and his brilliant court was adorned by great administrators, thinkers, philosophers and artists. It so happened that Mathavi, a young and beautiful actress, who claimed descent from the celestial actresses of the Court of Indra, made her first entry on the stage in the court of king Karikal. She sang and danced with such skill and grace that Karikal was greatly impressed and the king awarded her a necklace of one thousand and eight gold coins, the highest prize given on such occasions. Kovilan who was an accomplished musician, and passionately fond of music and dance was present in the king's court to witness Mathavi's performance. He was also greatly attracted and impressed by the almost divine dance of Mathavi. In a fit of inspiration, Kovilan bought the prize—necklace which was offered for sale and he presented it to Mathavi again. As he came to look at her more closely he was shaken with her dazzling form and immediately fell in

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love with her. Kovalan was in such an emotional state that he was powerless to leave Mathavi's company. He lavished upon her all his affection and wealth. Mathavi accepted the young rich merchant as her lover and in course of time gave birth to a lovely daughter called, Manimekalai. Soon Kovilan forgot his wife, who knowing all that was happening lived in sorrow, but still loyal and attached to her husband. During the annual festival in honour of Indra, which was celebrated with splendour in the city of Pukar, one day Mathavi and her lover were sitting on the beach singing songs. It was on this occassion that a misunderstanding arose between them. Mathavi somehow took it into her head that her lover had ceased to love her; and Kovilan thought that the lady was no longer attached to him. Misunderstanding arose out of the contents of two songs which each one sang. Kovilan unable to stand the strain and tension suddenly got up and left the place.

He came back to his wife who joyfully received him. Kovilan had in the meantime lost all the wealth. Even the ornaments of his wife had been given away. Kovilan decided to start life again as a merchant. Kannaki had left with her two precious anklets and husband and wife decided to sell one of the anklets so that with the money Kovilan could start his business again. They also decided to get away to the city of Madura, the Capital of the Pandyan Empire. Accordingly one night unnoticed by their kith and kin Kovilan and Kannaki started travel to Madura. They walked the long distance encountering unbearable difficulties on the way. After reaching Madura, Kovilan took one of the anklets and went into the city to sell it. On the way he chanced to meet the King's goldsmith, showed the anklet to him and asked him to dispose it off. The goldsmith was a villain, who was involved in a robbery of the Queen's anklet. Looking at Kannaki's jewel he found it was very similar to the Queen's stolen jewel. The goldsmith thought that he could escape suspicion in the Queen's jewel robbery affair if he reported to the king that Kovilan was in possession of the stolen anklet. The villain duly carried out his plan. The Pandyan king was persuaded to believe that Kovilan was the thief. According to the orders of the excited King, Kovilan was killed by the royal guards and Kannaki's anklet was seized from his possession. When the news of the murder of her husband reached Kannaki's ears, she, "furious as the goddess of Kali" went to the king and proved that the anklet was not the stolen one; and

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in her fire of wrath the whole city of Madura was burnt down. Later Kannaki wandered to the west coast where she attained divine liberation. This scene was witnessed by the then ruling Chera King, Senkuttuvan whose brother Ilan Ko Adikal composed the epic of Silappathikaram. The author of Silappathikaram narrates that king Senkuttuvan with his army went so far as the Himalayas from where he fetched a stone for an idol and built a temple in memory of Kannaki at the outskirts of Thiruvanchikkulam, which was the capital of the Chera dynasty. Temples were built in other parts of south India as also in Ceylon.

Divergent opinions prevail among scholars as to the exact date of "Silappathikaram". An indication of the date of Silappathikaram is furnished by the synchronism of king Gajabahu of Ceylon with Senkuttuvan which is found in this great epic. The date of Gajabahu's reign has been fixed at about 173-95 A.D. Senkuttuvan being the contemporary of Gajabahu may be supposed to have lived in the second century A.D. Ilan Ko Adikal who is said to be Senkuttuvan's brother must have composed the epic at this time. This is the opinion held by a section of scholars. However there are others like Prof. Nilakanta Sastry who think that the epic in its present form cannot be placed earlier than the fifth century A.D. But even these scholars agree that "the legend preserved the memory of a historically correct synchronism". We are not concerned here with the exact date of Silappathikaram. That the story and the ideas narrated in Silappathikaram arose round about the beginning of the Christian era is sufficient for the purpose of discussion here. To understand why this tale and the personality of Kannaki swayed the imagination of the people so much, it is necessary to examine the contemporary social background.

We will have a look at the institution of marriage in ancient South India. The 'Tolkappiyam' states that marriage as a sacrament accompanied with ritual was created in the Tamil Country by the Aryans. 'Tolkappiyam' is supposed to have been written near about the Tamil Sangam Age—approximately between A.D. 100 and A.D. 250.

Mahabharatha gives us certain indications of the maritial life of the people in South India. In 'Karnaparva' (Section 44) Karna

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narrates the social life of certain peoples like the Vahikas, Madrakas etc. Karna says:—

> "The practices of these people are very censurable, they drink the liquor called gauda and eat fried barley with it. They also eat beef with garlics. They also eat cakes of flour mixed with meat and boiled rice that is bought from others. Of righteous practices they have none. Their women intoxicated with drink and divested of robes laugh and dance outside the walls of houses, singing all the while drunken and obscene songs of diverse kinds that are musical as the bray of ass or bleat of the camel. In intercourse they are absolutely without any restraint and in all other matters they act as they like. Maddened with drink they call upon one another using many endearing epithets. Addressing many drunken exclamations to their husbands and lords the fallen women among the Vahikas without observing restrictions even on sacred days give themselves up to dancing." (Translation by Pratap Chandra Roy).

Continuing this narration Karna gives the advice that one should always avoid such people; and he lists the Karaskaras, the Mahishakas, the Kalingas, the Keralas, the Karkotakas, the Virakas also in the same class to be avoided. Karna narrates the story of how the Vahikas became like this:—

> "In former days a chaste woman was abducted by robbers (hailing) from Aratta. Sinfully was she violated by them, upon which she cursed them saying "since ye have sinfully violated a helpless girl who am not without a husband therefore the women of your families shall all become unchaste—Ye lowest of men never shall ye escape from the consequences of dreadful sin; it is for this, O Calya, that the sister's sons of the Arattas and not their own sons became their heirs". (Section 45).

Karna concludes this narration thus:—

> "The southerners are fallen; the Vahikas are thieves, the Saurashtras are bastards. They that are defiled by ingratitude, theft, drunkenness, adultery with the wives of their preceptors, harshness of speech, slaughter of kine, lustful wanderings during the night out of home and the wearing of other peoples' ornaments—what sin is there that they do not do". (Section 45).

As is evident Mahabharata suggests that the Keralas, the Mahishakas (Mysore) and the people of the south in general were loose in their sexual relationships. Actually Mahabharata gives

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us a dreadful picture of complete sexual anarchy. But this might not be true. A system of polyandry and polygamy might have been practised among southerners. Indications of remnants of this system may be traced in Sangam works. The following piece from Kalaiththokai may be taken as an illustration:—

> "While I and my mistress were bathing one day in a stream which was swollen with freshes, she slipped into the middle of the stream and unable to stem the current, she was being carried down the river, when a gallant youth who saw the danger leaped into the flood, decked as he was with garlands and bore her safely to the bank. Others who stood by, observed that they had seen her swelling bosom rest on his broad shoulders and hearing these words my mistress vowed that she would be ever faithful to that youth. He was the son of a chief of a powerful clan of the hill tribes. 'Never' said I, 'Will a Kurava girl be false to her lover and never will the arrow shot by a Kurava be false to its mark. If ye, mountaineers are false, the Valli creeper would not yield its edible fruit, the honey bees would not form their hives and your hill-farm yield no harvest. Her mother who heard my words, told them to her fathers who had thought of seeing her wed another youth of their choice....."

The passage "her mother told them to her fathers" is significant—it looks like a system of fraternal polyandry. Dr. Edgar Thurston in his survey of South Indian Castes and Tribes found the wide prevalence of fraternal polyandry among several South Indian Communities even in the beginning of the 20th century. Mr. Kanakasabha Pillai attempted to brush aside the word "fathers" saying that it is simply a mode of address. He says that "in tamil brothers of the father are called fathers and not uncles." But the question arises why not? Why not they are called uncles? Why they are called fathers? People have always used words with a meaning, especially those words which denote relationships with their nearest kith and kin. As Morgan has long ago pointed out a system of consanguinity must have at one time or other been the reflection of a really existing system of actual family relationship. When that family relationship dies out and is replaced by another the system of consanguinity survives for some period. Presuming that in the period of Kalith-thokai, fraternal polyandry did not exist in practice, even then, this system of consanguinity under which the brothers of the father are also called fathers must have been a reflection of a family which existed at some time or other

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in the evolution of these peoples and in which brothers of the father might have been real fathers in practice. In a system where a group of brothers collectively hold a group of sisters (not their own) as wives, father's brothers are also inevitably fathers and will be addressed only as such. Probably this was the system widely prevailing in ancient South India. Because this was not very familiar to the North Indian Aryan and did not conform to their practices, the Mahabharata viewed it as a sort of sexual anarchy.

Baudhayana in his "Dharmasutra" says that cross-cousin marriage was the widespread system in South India. He explains that five customs were peculiar to the South Indian People. Marrying the daughter of one's maternal uncle and marrying the daughter of one's paternal aunt have been described as two among these five peculiar customs. Many anthropologists hold the opinion that this system of cross-cousin marriage arises out of fraternal polyandry. Under fraternal polyandry one cannot marry one's father's brother's offspring because this offspring naturally will be one's own brother or sister. In the same manner one cannot marry one's mother's sister's offspring, because he or she will be one's brother or sister. Likewise one cannot marry one's brother's offspring because he or she will be one's own daughter or son and so on. In the final analysis one can have marital relationship only with one's mother's brother's offspring or one's father's sister's offspring. This is how the origin of cross-cousin marriage is explained.

By about the beginning of the Christian era this whole system must have been undergoing a great transformation. We get glimpses of this changed condition from "Tholkappiyam" and other sangam works. Three kinds of marital relationships are mentioned—Kaikkilai, Aintinai, and Peruntinai.

Kaikkilai is explained as oru-talai--kamam or one-sided desire. The paisacha, the rakshasa and the asura forms of marriage mentioned in sanskrit Smriti literature fall into this Tamil category of Kaikkilai. Marriage by forcible capture of women, marriage by purchase of women etc are kaikkilai forms. It is oru-talai-kamam, or one-sided love. It does not require the consent or the love of the concerned ladies.

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Aintinai is union from reciprocal desire. This is compared to the gandharva form mentioned in Sanskrit literature, the only difference between Aintinai and gandharva being that in Aintinai the ceremonies or Homa and Saptapadi which accompany gandharva marriages are absent. Almost no religious rite is necessary in Aintinai. Aintinai consists of two divisions, Kalavu and Karpu; Kalavu is clandestine love and usually takes place when a young man and woman meet each other in a secret place either by chance or by design and develop reciprocal attachment leading ultimately to their happy union in secrecy. Karpu is open marriage and denotes the giving away of a bride openly to a bridegroom of proper status and acceptance of her as his bride.

The third class peruntinai is explained as poruntakamam which means inappropriate love or unapproved marriage. The Brahma, Daiva, Arsha and Prajapatya forms of marriage mentioned in Smriti literature are comparable to the conception of peruntinai. These were accompanied by religious rites and were probably regarded as inappropriate to the Tamil folk.

The geographical distribution and stages of evolution of these forms of marriage may be briefly examined here. It is well known from Sangam literature that Tamil Country was divided into five regions, each with its distinctive natural and conventional features in which people differeing in occupation and cultural level lived. These five regions were Palai or desert land, Kurinji or mountainous region, Mullai or forest region, Marutam or arable country and Neytal or sea coast. The barbaric form of Kaikkilai was not frequent among the people excepting among palaimakkal or the people of the desert land and even among them there is no record to show that it was prevalent or was allowed. Peruntinai was as I have already mentioned considered to be inappropriate. Ilampuranar the commentator of 'Tolkappiyam' considers peruntinai to mean mariages prevailing among Menmakkal or upper castes. Kalavu of Aintinai was prevalent among the inhabitants of Palai, Kurinji and Mullai regions, but in the fertile region of Marutham and in the sea coast region of Neytal, the Karpu form of marriage was more prevalent.

Aintinai appears to have been the most popular form in this period of South Indian history. In a stage of transformation when the old system of fraternal polyandry disintegrated, but nothing

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new grew in its place, Kaikkilai probably came to be practised; however it never gained ground. Peruntinai also was rare. The Kalavu form of Aintinai caught people's imagination. Women had a large amount of freedom during this period. But Kalavu also gradually got replaced. Tolkappiyar explains that in course of time deceitfulness and treachery violated the sanctity of the secret union in the Kalavu form of marriage, and brahmins enjoined the rule of Karpu or open marriage. This marriage was conducted in public with the consent of kith and kin and in the presence of members of society in general. There was also a marriage ceremony.

Thus monogamic marriage bonds were propagated and established among the Tamil People. We do not propose here to go into the complicated question of how these various changes and and transformations in the marital relationships took place. It may have been connected with the development of economic forces in particular and cultural level in general.

The story of Silappathikaram was written in this background. The happenings relate to a period when monogamic marriage bonds were becoming popular and were glorified. The main framework of the story in Silappathikaram and its characters reflect this atmosphere. The greatness of chastity and sacredness of monogamic marriage bonds are almost the burden of the song in the story of Silappadikaram. Kovalan and Kannaki are only sixteen and twelve years of age. Marriage is arranged between the two by the parents. Status in society, wealth etc., are taken into account; it is accompanied by various ceremonies and both kith and kin and people of the society in general participate. Ceremonies are accompanied by religious rites also (Pukar Kandam, Section I). There is no looseness in this bond as in polyandry of ancient times or Kalavu form of marriage. The attachment between a single husband and single wife is stressed. Husband is lord of the life. After Kovilan starts his affair with Mathavi there is a scene where Devanthi advises Kannaki to take bath in the lakes of Somakunda and Suryakunda and worship Manmatha. But Kannaki rejects the suggestion saying "it is not proper for us to worship this Deva; for chaste ladies husband is the god" (Pukar Kandam Section IX). There is an incident during Kovalan's journey to Madura accompanied by Kannaki after his separation with Mathavi, the affair

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with whom he repented sincerely. A Vanadevatha (Forest nymph) fell in love with him and tried to attract him. The scene reminds of a Kalavu form of union. But Kovilan wards her off. He would not tolerate any more looseness and would not any more wander away from the ideals. (Madurakkandam, Section XI). Mathavi herself approached him again through a messenger but Kovilan would not yield. (Mathurakandam, Section XIII). After reaching Madura as Kovilan starts to sell the anklet he bids good-bye to Kannaki whose values he describes. These are four—chastity, shyness, simplicity, and the company of good people. It is a perfect conception of the idea of monogamic marriage in contrast to the system of polyandry and the looseness of Aintinai (Mathurakandam, Section XVI). Madura was burnt down due to the divine power derived from the purity of Kannaki. Just before the burning she proclaims "If I am chaste let this city burn down:" (Madurakandam Section, XXI). In short Silappadikaram reflects in a glorified manner the institution of monogamic marriage which was fast growing in the place of other crude forms of marriage. The rest of Silappathikaram contains some pictures of economic and social conditions, a few philosophical observations and religious ideas which prevailed at that time.

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Kalam Arukkal—A New Interpretation of a Doubtful Phrase

BY

N. V. Krishna Warrior

"Kāntaḷūr Śālai Kalam Aṟuttu" is a phrase occurring in several inscriptions of the Chola kings Rajaraja I, Rajendra I, Rajadhiraja and the Pandya king Parantaka.[1] This phrase has been variously interpreted by scholars. Historians are not unanimous as to the exact location of Kāntaḷūr Śālai. Some maintain that it was at Trivandrum while others hold that it was near Vizhinjam.[2] It is however agreed that the Kāntaḷūr Śālai, like the Śālas at Mūzhikkaḷam, Tiruvalla and Pārthivapuram, was an institution for higher education where students were given free accommodation. The Rules and Regulations of the Kāntaḷūr Śālai were made applicable to the Śālai at Pārthivapuram, when that Śālai was established in the 41st year of the Kollam Era by the Āy king Karunanta Ṭakkan.[3]

If the Kāntaḷūr Śālai was an ordinary educational institution the question naturally arises why king after king should have deemed it a matter of pride to attack and subdue it. Prof. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai offers the following explanation: "In the second century of the Kollam Era, when the rule of the Āy kings in south Travancore weakened and subsequently these areas passed under the rule of the Cholas, the Kāntaḷūr Śālai and Vizhinjam came to be on the southern boundary of the Chera Empire. These places were strongly garrisoned by the Chera monarchs in order to resist the Chola invasion from the south. This resulted in Vizhinjam and strongly fortified Kāntaḷūr becoming the scenes of bloody battles during the wars which

1. Professor Eḷamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Keraḷacaritrattile Irulataññ Eṭukaḷ*, pp. 53-55.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 53 f.

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took place between the Cheras and the Cholas from the period of Rajaraja to that of Kulottunga"[4] Again: "The Kalams (seats) in the Śālas at Kāntaḷūr, Talakkuḷam, Karakāndīśvaram, etc., might have been greatly increased in order to resist the ascending power of the Cholas. Military training was imparted in these Śālas from early times. When the Kalams in Śālas were increased to thousands, the places like Kāntaḷūr became centres of military training. That is probably the reason why Rajaraja came first to south Travancore with his army in order to destroy the Kalams in these Śālas.[5]

Now let us see what the word "Kalam" means. We know that Kāntaḷūr was on the sea shore from the description of it as "the place where the Chera kings used to wash their blood-stained lances".[6] From this fact some historians jumped into the conclusion that the "Kalam" destroyed at Kāntaḷūr was Marakkalam, i.e., ship.[7] S. Desikavinayakam Pillai, on the other hand, took "Kalam" to mean an eating plate. He interpreted the verb Aṟuttu to mean "regulated". According to him the Chola and Pandya kings took legitimate pride in regulating the free distribution of food at the Kāntaḷūr Śālai.[8] As the verb "Aṟuttu" does not possess such a meaning, Prof. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai finds it difficult to agree with this interpretation. He says that the word "Kalam" may mean "Place" and that the phrase "Kalam Aṟuttu" signifies the abolition of seats allottd to students undergoing military training.[9] Sri Ś. Sanku Ayyar has advanced a fourth interpretation. According to him "Kalam" means Arsenal (Āyudhappotu). "Kalam Aṟuttu" signifies in this interpretation the capturing of the arms kept at Kāntaḷūr.[10] Sri K. V. Krishna Ayyar agrees with this interpretation. In his opinion the phrase "Kāntaḷūr Śālaiyum Koṇṭu" occurring in three inscriptions and the phrase "Tanṭār Koṇṭu" occurring in two inscriptions lend support to this interpretation. "Koṇṭu" in both these phrases naturally means "having

4. *Ibid.*, p. 60 f.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
6. *Ceralan Velai Kazhu Kāntalūr Śālai, ibid.*, p. 54.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
10. *Māthrubhūmi Weekly*, 24 July, 1960.

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taken." It is also significant that Kalam Arukkal is stated to be an exploit of the army called Mūnrukaimahāsenai. For a land force to engage a navy and destroy a fleet of ships seems highly improbable.

The purpose of the present paper is to show that a more cogent interpretation of the phrase Kalam Aṟuttu is possible and that it is supported by literary evidence.

In his Arthaśāstra, Kauṭalya stipulates the breadth required for roads intended for different purposes. This subject is dealt with in the fourth chapter in the 22nd Prakaraṇa called "Durganiveśa" in the 2nd Adhikaraṇa called "Adhyakṣapracāra".[11] Among others, the road going to Samyānīya should be eight Daṇḍas broad, which is the maximum breadth prescribed for any kind of road. This shows that Samyānīya is a very important place. In the "Kauṭalīya" commentary of Arthaśāstra, "Samyānīya" is translated as Kalamuṟupaṭṭinam.[12] As it is, the word does not make much sense. I hold that 'mu' is a scribal error for 'ma' and that the correct word is Kalam Aṟu Paṭṭinam, the place where "Kalam Aṟukkal" is usually done.

Now the meaning of the phrase Kalam Aṟukkal becomes plain from the description of Sthānīya. This is given in the 3rd chapter, 21st Prakaraṇa, 2nd Adhikaraṇa of the Arthaśāstra. According to this description "Sthānīya" is the place for the collection of revenues. It should be established in the midst of inhabited area on the confluence of rivers or banks of perennial lakes or tanks and should be accessible both by land and water. Sthānīya is also described as Paṇyaputabhedana.[13] Commenting upon this word "Kauṭaliya" says that packets of merchandise (Paṇyaputaṅkaḷ) sealed by the boundary guards should be opened only at the Sthānīya.[14]

Taken together, this means that "Sthānīya" is the fortified place where the revenue is collected and "Samyānīya" is that part of Sthānīya where the dutiable imported goods are kept pending the assessment of import levies. It is necessary to have

11. R. P. Kangle, *The Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra*, Part 1, p. 38.
12. *Kauṭalīyam*, Vol. 2, p. 19.
13. K. A. Part I, p. 36.
14. *Kauṭalīyam*, Vol. 2, p. 12.

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broad roads to Samyānīya so that the movement of goods both ways may be speedily effected. The word Kalam Aṟu Paṭṭinam which is used to describe Samyānīya is a literal translation of the term Paṇyaputabhedanam, which signifies the place where the seals placed by Antapālas on packets of imported goods are broken off preliminary to the assessment and collection of the levies. This is also the meaning of the word "Puṭabhedana" used along with the word "Pura" in the following lines from Mahabharata:

Sa Hastinapure Ramye Kurūṇām Puṭabhedane (1.100.12)

Gradually this specific significance of the word "Puṭabhedana" was lost sight of and at the time of Amarakośa it was regarded as a mere synonym of "Pura".

The phrase "Kāntaḷūr Śālai Kalam Aṟuttu" has now become quite easy of explanation. It means that the invading monarch supervised over the breaking open of the seals on imported goods collected and kept at Kāntaḷūr, Śālai, such breaking being symbolic of the actual collection of the revenue. To be able to appropriate the customs revenues from an internationally famous emporium is indeed a proud achievement for a conquering hero, worthy of being commemorated. That is why this phrase recurs in successive inscriptions. The phrases Kāntaḷūr Śālayum Koṇṭu, Taṇṭār Koṇṭu, etc., also fall in line with the above explanation. Many of the imported goods in those times such as wine, olive oil, etc., were transported in jars. This might have been the origin of the use of the word Kalam in the sense of merchandise in general.

There is no doubt that Kāntaḷūr had a famous seat of learning. It is quite likely that a large port office also was located in the vicinity of this institution, which also came to be known by the name Kāntaḷūr Śālai. The reference to Kāntalūr as a place abounding in splendour and wealth (Kāntiyum Celvamum Mikka Kāntaḷūr Śāla) in the old poem Anantapuravarṇanam is a sure evidence of the fact that Kāntaḷūr was the centre of a flourishing import-export trade.

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Guruvayur

BY

K. V. KRISHNA AYYAR, M.A.

To the people of South India Guruvāyūr is a heaven on earth. The stories which associate it with the Pṛacetas of the *Bhāgavata*, the image with Sutapas and Priśṇi, Kāśyapa and Aditi, and Vāsudeva and Devaki, and its installation with Guru, the preceptor of the celestials, and Vāyu, their messenger, are recent inventions, intended to explain and augment the sanctity of the temple.

Early History

The earliest reference to Guruvāyūr is to be found in a Tamil invocation in which the Lord is addressed as *Kuruvayūrampumumpaṛperumāḷe*, O, Lord of the Celestials, residing at Guruvāyūr. In the Malayalam *Cakṛavākasandeśa* of the early sixteenth century, the bird which carries the message is told that beyond Mammiyūr is a place called Kuruvayūr, *Kuruvayūrenṛupērāmpṛadēśam*. Even as late as A.D. 1637, some fifty years after the famous *Nērayaṇīyam* was composed, the Lord of Guruvāyūr is referred to in the temple records maintained in the Koleḻuttu script as *Kuruveyūr Tēvar*. As the short *a* is also pronounced as short *e* in these parts there is no doubt that the *Kuruveyūr* of the temple records is only the vulgar variant of the *Kuruvayūr* of the Tamil invocation and the Malayalam *Sandēśa*. How the place came to be called *Kuruvāyūr* is any one's guess: in early Dravida, *Kuruvai* means the sea, and in those days the village might have been situated near the sea, which must have since receded.

With the growing popularity of Sanskrit under the aegis of the Zamorin, notably by the annual *Paṭṭattānams* or literary and philosophical competitions held at Kōḻikkod (Calicut), the fashion grew to Sanskritize even Dravidian place-names. Thus Kūdallūr became Sangamapuri, Mēlputtūr Uparinavagrāma, Kāççankuricci Kāśyapakṣetṛa, and Pālghat Kṣīravana(?).

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Perhaps it was the author of the *Nārayaṇīyam* himself who was responsible for associating Guru and Vāyu with this village near the sea. Never has a change so small produced a result so auspicious and happy. By lengthening the short vowel in *Va*, he gave the temple a sanctity all its own, as founded by Guru and Vāyu, which no temple however holy or hoary can claim. And his *Nārayaṇīyam*, in which the Lord is often addressed as *Gurupavanapureśa*, is an authority which the devout will never challenge.

We do not know when Guruvāyūr came into existence. It is quite possible that Koreoura, Brahmagara, and Arembour of Ptolemy (A.D. 150) are the present Guruvāyūr, Brahmadeśam and Arimpūr. Neither Nammāḻvār nor Tirumangaiyāḻvār has sung about Guruvāyūr, though they have praised Tiṟunāvāyi. It is quite possible that Guruvāyūr had not then become famous enough to attract them, if it had already come into being.

In the temple records that have escaped the iconoclastic fury of Tipu Sultan and the voracity of the white ants, Guruvāyūr appears as comprising the five *Deśams* or villages of Guruvāyūr Tiruvenkatam, Mammiyūr, Tāmarayūr and Añjiyūr, and the subordinate *Dēvasvams*, or shrines, of Edatteḍam, Āñjiyūr, Tāmarayūr, Srikanṭhapuram, Maṇṇūr, Kuḷikkāḍ, Tattamangalam, Ayyankuḷaṅgara, Ciṅgaṅkāvu, Nārānankuḷaṅgara, Kuruvāyūrkuḷaṅgara, Mammiyūr, Tirutti, Tiruvenkaṭam, Pāluvāyi and Marutayūr. Guruvāyūr itself was subordinate to Tṛkkuṇavāyi, the Kuṇavāyilkottam of the ancient Tamil writers, the *Guṇaka* of the mediaeval *Sandeśas*, and the Tṛkkaṇāmatilakam or Matilakam of the English and Dutch records. Before the Mysorean invasions, more exactly before A.D. 1763, the present Cāṭṭukuḷam had been included within the limits of Guruvāyūr, and it was in this tank that the *Āṛaṭṭu*, or ceremonial immersion, of the deity at the close of the annual festival had taken place.

We do not know how many *Illams* or families of Brahmins there were at Guruvāyūr at the beginning. According to tradition there were seventy-two houses. At any rate the Brahmins were so numerous as to require four *Otikkans*, or priests, to minister to their religious needs. Some of them followed Āśvalāyana, others Baudhāyana, still others Kauṣitaka.

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It is not known how and when Guruvāyūr became supreme over the other four *Deśams* or how and when Tṛkkuṇavāyi happened to establish its authority over Guruvāyūr. It is possible that the four *Deśams* merged with Guruvāyūr in a peaceful synoecism, and for prudential reasons they commended themselves to the protection of their stronger and more powerful neighbour.

The greatness of a temple is due to the faith of its devotees. The earliest of these great devotees of Guruvāyūr was Cempakaśśeri Nampūtiri. His family house stood in Mammiyūr, a little to the west of the Nāṟāṇaṅkuḷaṅgara Bhagavati shrine. He had no heirs, and he made over all his property to the Lord. He died in the solar month of *Kanya* (*Virgo*) on the day of *Magha,* or tenth asterism. As his heir, the Lord still performs in the temple the annual *Śrāddha,* or ceremony in honour of the departed, the Perumpaḷḷi Otikkan, his family priest, being feasted as the distinguished guest.

Another of these early devotees, whose devotion helped in the making of Guruvāyūr, was Desavarma Nampūtiri. Like Cempakaśśeri, he also gave away all his property to the Lord. And as his heir, the Lord still performs his *Śrāddha* on the day of *Magha,* in the solar month of *Kumbha* or *Aquarius,* though before the Mysorean occupation it had been performed on the last day of the dark fortnight of *Vriscika* or *Scorpio.*

Popular imagination, very fertile in matters of faith, has not failed to associate the great *Śaṅkarācārya* with the temple. It is said that it was he who assigned the responsibility of conducting the *Navami Viḷakku,* or the celebrations of the ninth day of the bright fortnight in the month of *Vriscika* or *Scorpio* to the chief priest, the *Daśami Viḷakku* of the next day to the Zāmorin, and the famous *Ekādaśi Viḷakku* of the following day to the chief of Ceṟaḷayam, though the earliest date for the Zāmorin and the Raja of Cēṟaḷayam is some three centuries after the great Vedantin. It is even believed that he composed the *Govindāṣṭaka* and the *Bhajagōvindam* during an annual festival he attended, and the opening in the roof over the north-west corner of the court-yard was made to enable him to come down and worship the Lord during the annual *Utsava* or festival!

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Though Śaṅkarācārya could not have visited Guruvāyūr, the association of the temple with Vilvamaṅgalam I cannot be rejected as pure folklore. The original seat of his family was Panniyūr, from where his ancestors fled to Parur during the *Kur-matsaram* with its neighbour Śukapuram. He was a contemporary of Jayadeva, the author of the *Gīta-gōvinda*. An indefatigable wanderer, Vilvamaṅgalam I must have met Jayadeva during his pilgrimage in North India. At any rate, he must have been responsible for instituting the singing of *Aṣṭapadi*, as *Gīta-gōvinda* is called, in Kerala. Perhaps, the installation of the present image, carved out of black antimony brought from China, was performed by him.

The war between the Zāmorin and the Veḷḷāṭri or the Raja of Valḷuvanād for Tirunāvāyi tended to promote the importance of Guruvāyūr. The temple of Tirunāvāyi was greater and more ancient. Its annual festival was celebrated for thirty days, beginning from the *Puṣya* or eighth asterism in the month of *Makara* of *Capricorn* to *Magha* or tenth asterism in the month of *Kumbha* or *Aquarius*. And the festival of the *Mahāmāgha* year, that is, the year in which Jupiter resides in the sign of *Simha* or *Leo*, drew pilgrims from all parts of Kerala, as the waters of the Bhāratappuḷa on which Tirunāvāyi stands were supposed to become sanctified by a mystic flow from the holy Ganges (Ganga) in the north. The war for Tirunāvāyi lasted long, and the devotees on the other side of the river began to prefer Guruvāyūr.

The Zāmorin was not content with the expulsion of the Veḷḷāṭri from Tirunāvāyi. He carried his arms across the river and southwards also as far as Cochin, and became the *Mēl-koyma* or sovereign protector of both Tṛkkuṇavāyi and Guruvāyūr. In course of time he also became a devotee of Guruvāyūr, and his subjects naturally followed him, visiting Guruvāyūr in large numbers.

The income derived from the offerings enabled the temple authorities to construct the eastern and western *Gōpurams* or ornamental gateways and encase the flag-staff in gold. The *Cakṛavākasandeśa* refers to the towering *Gōpurams* embracing the skies and the flag tossing to and fro in the wind at the top of the golden flag-staff (*Sl.* 35 and 36).

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Though Guruvāyūr had been a small village from the beginning, it lay in a deficit area. The increasing influx of pilgrims made it more and more difficult for the temple authorities not only to feed them, but even to arrange for the various offerings to the Lord in rice as desired by the devotees. A fortunate coincidence led to an easy solution of what might otherwise have remained a baffling problem. The chief priest, Cennamaṅgalam Nampūtiri, was also the domestic chaplain of the Zāmorin. And in the course of his conquests the Zāmorin had driven a wedge through the centre of the fertile Palghat District as far as Poḷḷācci. At the instance of Cennamaṅgalam, the Zāmorin secured the Vermānūr (Perumanūr) *Dēvasvam* in the present Paṟakkulam near Kunisseri—and the *Cerikkal* of Vaḷḷappanāḍ sometime in the fifteenth century. The temple records show that every year some 300 to 500 *Potis* of paddy were taken to Guruvāyūr from here at the astoundingly low transportation cost of one *Fanam* or 28 N.P. per *Poti* as head load.

In A.D. 1638 the central shrine was rebuilt. In the following year, a grand rite called *Viśvabali* was performed. Its object was to propitiate all the spirits, good and bad, for the welfare of the world as a whole, *Sarvalōkahitāya*, as the *Viṣṇusamhita* says. Though the accounts of only one *Viśvabali* have come down to us it must have been a quin-quennial or decennial affair, as the records expressly state, "as formerly performed and found in the older *ōlas* or palm leaves" in which the records were kept. Compared to it the annual *Utsavabali* is indeed insignificant. The former requires five days, while the latter is performed in the course of a single day; further while the latter requires only 32 measures of rice, the former cannot be perfomed without 3636 measures of rice, 1245 coconuts, 4302 plantain fruits, 325 pounds of jaggery, 100 measurse of fried rice, 100 measures of bran, and 50 measures of *ghi*!

The Guruvāyūr Saints

By the end of the sixteenth century Guruvāyūr had become the most famous place of pilgrimage in Kerala. Among the devotees of the Lord, five stand foremost: Pūntānam (A.D. 1547-1640). Mēlputtūr (A.D. 1559-1625), Vilvamaṅgalam II (A.D. 1575-1660), Kuṟūramma (A.D. 1570-1640), and Prince (afterwards Zāmorin) Mānavēdan (A.D. 1595-1658).

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Pūntānam and Mēlputtūr were contemporaries. These were their family names. The personal name of Mēlputtūr was Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri; that of Pūntānam is unknown.

No two devotees could be more sharply contrasted than these. One was weak where the other was strong. The family of Pūntānam did not enjoy the privilege of studying the Vedas, while the teaching of the Vedas and the Mimamsa was the hereditary right of Mēlputtūr. Pūntānam had no formal education, while Mēlputtūr had an elaborate and systematic education under the most learned teachers of the day. Pūntānam's knowledge of Sanskrit was meagre, and his devotional outpourings were all in Malaylam. Mēlputtūr held Malayalam in contempt, and his contributions were all in Sanskrit. Pūntānam was an embodiment of devotion, pure and simple; Mēlputtūr's *forte* was encyclopaedic. Pūntānam was the saint of the masses; his appeal was to the heart. Melputtūr evoked the admiration of the learned and aristocratic few; his appeal was to the head.

Pūntānam was born in A.D. 1547. At the age of twenty he married the heiress of Pūntānam and left the paternal roof to live with his wife in her house. For a long time the couple had no children. Like many others in the same plight, Pūntānam began to propitiate the Lord of Guruvāyūr.. At long last, his prayers were answered, and a son was born in A.D. 1586.

But unfortunately he resolved to perform the *Annaprāśan,* or ceremonial giving of the first rice, of the new-born in his own house, instead of at Guruvāyūr in the presence of the Lord as he was in duty bound. The little one died an hour or two before the ceremony! Left in the kitchen, it managed to get too near the fire, and was burnt to death. Crazy with grief, Pūntānam came to Guruvāyūr to recover the child that he had lost by prayers as in the Pauranic story *Kumārāharaṇam!*

By this time Mēlputtūr also had come to Guruvāyūr to get rid of his rheumatism by prayer. He made fun of Pūntānam's 'murder' of Sanskrit, and like others doubted also his sanity. Gradually illumination came to the bereaved father. He realized:

> With Little Kṛṣṇa dancing in our hearts
> Why need we little ones of our own?
> (*Jñānappāna* or *Song of Wisdom,* ll. 288-289)

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The *Jñānappāna* or *Song of Wisdom* in Malayalam is Pūntānam's personal testimony to the ancient wisdom of our Ṛṣis. In simplicity and force of diction no less than in the truths proclaimed, only the Bible in English comes near it. Forged in the furnace of the heart there is not a single word in it that does not have the true metallic ring.

According to the popular story, Mēlputtūr, proud of his learning, would not deign even to look at the *Jñānappāna*. In his contempt he asked Pūntānam to learn the *Vibhakṭis*, or declension of nouns in Sanskrit, before attempting to write anything. But the Lord would not allow his devotee to be so rudely insulted. Next day, when Mēlputtūr sat down on the platform facing the Lord to pour out his daily *Daśaka* in His praise, he found himself unable to utter even a single word, not to speak of a *Ślōka*. Not only that, a small boy, not yet in his teens, and not seen also till then at Guruvāyūr, appeared there, and seating himself before the Bhaṭṭa(tiri), began to point out mistake after mistake in the *Nārāyaṇīyam*, one mistake in the first *Ślōka*, two in the next, and so on cumulatively in each successive *Ślōka*. This strange spectacle of a puny lad correcting the learned Bhaṭṭa(tiri) soon attracted a large crowd. The Bhaṭṭa(tiri) naturally lost his nerve and began to perspire in sheer despair. By the time the lad had reached the tenth *Ślōka* and picked out ten mistakes, the Bhaṭṭa(tiri) realized who the lad was. Before he could fall at His feet, He had disappeared. Only an incorporeal voice was heard; "Pūntānam's *Bhakti*, or devotion, is more pleasing than Mēlputtūr's *Vibhakti*, or grammar." The story of the lad and the incorporeal voice must certainly be an invention. It however reflects the opinion of the people at large about the two devotees.

Pūntānam spent his time in reading the *Bhāgavata*, singing the Lord's glories in Malayalam, and exhorting the people to repeat His name as the easiest and shortest way to salvation. He maintained his robust health for a long time. Even in his eighties he used to go to Guruvāyūr for his monthly *Bhajan*, walking the whole distance of not less than 100 kilometres. Once, however, on his way he was set upon and seized by robbers, who appropriated his ring and threatened to kill him for not bringing more

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for their benefit! Bereft of all hope, with the ruffian's knife pointed at the throat, Pūntānam cried out:

> With what haste You went to Draupadi's rescue,
> With what haste You rushed to the elephant's rescue,
> With that haste, O, Lord, come to my rescue.

And the Lord seemed to come! Just at that moment the miscreants descried a party of the Zāmorin's soldiers coming towards them and at once took to their heels, leaving the despoiled ring on the spot. After making arrangements to take Pūntānam, who had fainted, to Guruvāyūr, the commandant marched off with his Nayars to Cāvākkād, with Pūntānam's ring. Next day, the captain went to Guruvāyūr and entrusted the ring to the chief priest to be given to Pūntānam when he came there. No wonder when Pūntānam received his ring from no other than the Lord's chief priest he came to believe that it was no other than the Lord Himself who had come to his rescue!

We do not know when exactly Pūntānam died. He composed his Malayalam *Bhāṣākaṛṇāmṛta,* entirely different in scope and treatment from Vilvamaṅgalam I's Sanskrit *Kaṛṇāmṛta,* in his ninety-second year. The *Ānandanṛttam,* or Dance of Ecstacy, is his last contribution to Malayalam-devotional literature.

This is not the place to discuss Pūntānam's place in the history of Malayalam language and literature. Suffice it to say, as a writer of pure Malayalam he stands next to Ceruśśeri only, and Kunjan Nampiyār, the famous satirist, derived his language, though not his ideas, from him.

The importance of Pūntānam in the religious history of Kerala cannot be exaggerated. Śankara's appeal was more to the head than to the heart, and he spoke in a language which only the learned could understand. Cēramān Perumāḷ and Kulasekharāḷvār appealed to the masses in their own language; but they belonged to an entirely forgotten past, when Malayalam had not come into being. Pūntānam was the first and also the greatest of Malayalam saints. Further, like the Nāyanārs and Āḷvars, he emancipated religion from the shackles of ritual and made it a living force.

Mēlputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa(tiri) was born in A.D. 1559. Intelligent and versatile, he fell a prey to rheumatism. And as a last resort he came to Guruvāyūr in A.D. 1586. He sought the

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Lord's favour by describing His incarnations in a series of *Daśakas,* each consisting of ten or twelve *Ślokas,* almost all of them ending with a prayer to the Lord of Guruvāyūr to free him from the ailments that afflicted him. At last, on the hundredth day, when he also completed his grand work, he found himself fully restored to his former *Āyurārōgyasaukhyam* or life, health and happiness. The letters—*Ā-yu-rā-rō-gya-sau-khyam*—represent also the Kali day—1712210—according to the *Ka-ṭa-pa-yā-dī* method of expressing numbers, corresponding to August 23, 1586.

The *Nārāyaṇīyam,* in praise of *Nārāyaṇa* by Nārāyaṇa, spread the Bhaṭṭa(tiri)'s name far and wide. Princes and nobles of Kerala, every one of whom knew Sanskrit in those days, vied with one another for the honour of entertaining him as their guest. His fame even induced Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita to start on a trip to South India to pay his respects to the author of the *Nārāyaṇīyam.* But before he reached Kerala, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa had left this mortal world.

It is difficult to find in the history of any literature, sacred or secular, an author so prolific, facile, and many-sided. There is no subject to which Mēlputtūr has not made some contribution. Religion, philosophy, grammar, ritual, love, and even chess, have received his attention. In literary gymnastics and jugglery he was a past master.

The *Nārāyaṇīyam,* not to be confounded with the work of the same name by a Telugu author, is his *magnum opus.* To a world hard-pressed for time, and therefore in search of a short cut for everything including salvation, it is a boon. It offers the sacred *Bhāgavata* in a nutshell.

It is even more. It is a graduated course in god-realization. Each one of the hundred *Daśakas* is a milestone on the road to realization. With the last, we may be able to see the Lord Himself, and exclaim with the Bhaṭṭa(tiri) "*Agre paśyāmi*..... Him I see before me."

In the *Nārāyaṇīyam* we have also an effective method of faith cure. Almost every *Daśaka* concludes with a prayer. By reading them only at a single sitting for a number of days, we can fully recover our *Āyurārōgyasaukhyam,* or health and happiness.

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The greater the faith, the quicker the recovery. As Jesus said to the blind, "According to your faith, be it unto you".

To Guruvāyūr also the *Nārāyaṇīyam* is of the greatest importance. No work of this magnitude has ever been dedicated and addressed to any deity in any temple in India. Even if Guruvāyūr disappears as Dvāraka has done, the *Nārāyaṇīyam* will create a Guruvāyūr in the heart of every one who reads it.

Kuṛūramma was born in A.D. 1570 in the village of Paṛūr, near the house of Vilvamaṅgalam. Older than the monk, Vilvamaṅgalam II, she was his cousin through her mother. And until the very end she maintained in her relations with him the happy and innocent freedom of her girlhood days. Her maiden name was Dhatri; she became Kuṛūramma or the lady of the Kuṛūr family, in Adāṭṭu in Trichur by marriage.

"*See-Him-we-must*" is the only song of hers that has so far been dicovered. On the model of Pūntānam, every word of it is instinct with devotion, and proclaims her irrepressible passion for the divine vision. And see Him she did! She even treated Him as her son, played with Him, chid Him when He was naughty, and cried when He disappeared in sulk. It is to Pūntānam and Kuṛūramma that we owe the conception of the Lord of Guruvāyūr as *Unnikṛṣṇa* or *Bālakṛṣṇa*, though all formal worship is offered to Him as the all-pervading Mahāviṣṇu, with four hands and with Dhara or Goddess of Wealth and Śrī or Goddess of Prosperity dependent on Him.

The popularity of the *Nāma Japa*, or repetition of the holy name in Kerala, is also due to them. Vilvamangalam II did not approve his cousin's *Nāma Japa* always, in season and out of season, without any regard to external purity. Once, happening to see her doing it while in her season, he said "Not now please". At once came the reply, "Can you give a guarantee that Yama, or god of death, will keep away from us while impure?"

Vilvamangalam II was born in A.D. 1575. He became a Sanyasin. Like Vilvamangalam I he joined the Tekke Matham at Trichur. Like him he went to Brindavan. Like him also he was able to see the Lord whenever and in whatever form he wished. There is no great temple in Kerala from Trivandrum to Talipparampa and Triccambaram that has not some story to tell about him.

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Prince (afterwards Zamorin) Manavedan was born in A.D. 1595. He does not seem to have come into contact with Mēlputtūr. Nevertheless, the *Nārayaṇīyam* exerted a profound influence on him. It fanned his innate devotion to white heat and provided him with selected incidents to present the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa in a series of dramas.

Vilvamangalam II took a paternal interest in Manavedan. He enabled him to obtain a vision of the Lord as Balakṛṣṇa and helped him in the preparation and staging of the dramas. Collectively called *Kṛṣṇagīta*, the series was completed in A.D. 1653. The prince came to the *gadi* in A.D. 1655 and died three years later. His remains are enshrined in the Zamorin's palace at Guruvāyūr. Every day a lamp is lighted at sunset before the mausoleum as befitting the saintliness of the deceased. And every year after the dramas are staged in the temple, they are staged in the palace also, the stage facing the monument as a mark of homage to their author, the *Bhaktiscakṛī* or emperor-devotee.

Later History

With the beginning of the eighteenth century evil days came upon Guruvāyūr as upon Kerala in general. In A.D. 1716, during the course of the war with the Zamorin, the Dutch raided Guruvāyūr. They stripped the flag staff of its gold casing, plundered the underground cellar containing the treasure, and set fire to the *Paṭiṅṅāre Gōpuram* or western gate-way. But thanks to the *Ēkadaśi* and *Utsava* collections, the losses were soon recouped, and the *Paṭiṅṅāre Gōpuram* was rebuilt in A.D. 1747 by Panikka Vīṭṭil Iṭṭirāricca Menon.

In the next war between the Zamorin and the Dutch (A.D. 1753-1758) the latter occupied Ṭṛkkuṇavāyi in 1756 and desecrated the temple. The Zamorin however recovered it in A.D. 1757. But the Brahmins who had fled at the approach of the Dutch refused to come back and purify the temple. So the Ṭṛkkuṇavāyi *Dēvasvam* was dissolved, and the Zamorin succeeded it as the *Mēl-Eṭam* of Guruvāyūr and became its supervising trustee as well, in addition to its *Kōyma* or protector.

In A.D. 1766 Haidar Ali captured Koḷikkod (Calicut), and his forces occupied Cāvakkāḍ and Guruvāyūr. He spared the

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temple for a ransom of 10,000 *Fanams*, which the Vaṭakkeppaṭ Vāriyar paid on its behalf. On account of the general insecurity caused by Haidar's invasions, the flow of pilgrims almost ceased, and it became impossible to bring rice from Vermānūr (Perumānūr). The tenants also began to withhold their annual payment. In this extremity, Srinivasa Rao, whom Haidar had appointed Governor of Malabar, came to the rescue. He persuaded his master to grant a *Dēvadaya*, or free gift, to the temple in A.D. 1780.

The princes of the Zamorin's family would not however tamely submit to the Mysoreans. So Tipu Sultan, who had succeeded Haidar, came down to Malabar in A.D. 1789 to stamp out all resistance, and convert the Hindus to secure their loyalty. Hiding the *Mūla-vigraha*, or image of stone, under the ground, Malliśśeri Nampūtiri and the Kakkād Otikkan took refuge in Ampalappuḷa with the *Utsava-vigraha*, or image which is taken in procession during the festival.

Tipu plundered the temple and set fire to it, but a timely rain saved it. The images, which were left behind in the smaller shrines were all reduced to fragments by the Mysoreans. But Tipu's days in Malabar were numbered. Assisted by the princes of the Zamorin's family, the English drove him out. On March 28, 1792, he ceded Malabar to the victors.

Malliśśeri Nampūtiri and Kakkāḍ Otikkan returned with the *Utsava-vigraha*. The *Mūla-vigraha* was brought back from its place of concealment, and re-installed with the Zamorin's help on September 17, 1792.

During the Mysorean occupation, culminating in Tipu's *jihad*, the old order completely changed in Guruvāyūr as elsewhere in Malabar. Many families perished; many families left the land never to return; to preserve life and property, many families embraced Islam. The very few that returned found their houses and lands either ruined or occupied by strangers. For want of funds no attempt was made by the temple authorities to renovate the ruined shrines and restore these *Kīḻ-eṭams* or subordinate *Dēvasvams*. God Ayyappan of Āñjiyūr ceased to come for his *Āṟāṭṭu* or immersion in the temple tank on the day of *Ārdra* or *Tiruvātira* (sixth asterism) in the month of *Kumbha* (*Aquarius*). Likewise the five

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Bhagavatis also ceased to celebrate their *Pūram* festival in the month of *Mina* (Pisces), on the day of the eleventh asterism, and come to Guruvāyūr for immersion in the tank and worship in the temple.

Though worship in the temple was resumed in A.D. 1792, it was not easy to carry on. The tenants, most of whom were now Muslims, would not pay rent. The *Dēvadaya* confiscated by Tipu could not be easily recovered from his successors, the English. The Zamorin's position also remained uncertain till A.D. 1805. And he had the same difficulties with his tenants as the temple.

Fortunately, the Uḷanād Panikkars became the unofficial advisers of the Zamorin and looked after his interests in the temple as elsewhere. For nearly seventy five years, from 1825 to 1900, they retained his confidence. As devoted as Cempakaśśēri and Deśavaṛma, under them the wounds inflicted by the Mysoreans gradually healed. They not only declined to receive any remuneration for their services but even made large contributions from their family estates so that the daily worship and the annual festival might be properly conducted. They began their management with an *Aṣṭabandhakalasa* or refixing of the image, though on a small scale. In A.D. 1836 a native of Travancore re-erected the *Dīpastambha* or pillar of lights, under the flag-staff. In A.D. 1841 the Government of Madras restored the *Dēvadaya* resumed by Tipu Sultan. In the following year, as evinced by the inscription *Bhūpalairveṇajādyaih* ....., the *Kiḻakke Gōpuram*, or eastern gate-way, was rebuilt.

In A.D. 1859 the temple authorities embarked upon an extensive building programme. The central shrine and the platform, or *Maṇṭapa*, facing it, were covered with copper sheetings and a permanent flag-staff with a bell-metal covering was set up. In A.D. 1892 another building programme was launched. The *Cuṟṟampalam* or the colonnaded hall all round the central shrine, the *Viḷakkumāṭam* or the gallery of lights, the *Kūttampalam* or the dancing hall, and the *Śāstha* shrine were roofed with copper sheetings, and the eastern court-yard was covered with a tiled roof. So ample were the temple funds and so willing was the Zamorin to supplement them from his own estate that the organised theft of A.D. 1893, continuously carried on night after night

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for how many days the Lord alone knows, did in no way interfere with the progress of the work.

The present century opened with a series of reforms. Sri Konthi Menon, who became Manager in A.D. 1900, was as devout as the Panikkars. He divided the work of the *Devasvam* into a number of departments to secure responsibility and efficiency. By a rigorous *quo warranto* he compelled every usurper to restore the Lord's lands. The *Kīḻ-śantis,* or subordinate priests, had to give up their right to a perpetual service tenure. He did everything in his power to keep the temple and its environs clean, neat and decent. He reconstructed the *Pattāypura* or granary, and set up the big bell to ring the hour as the clock strikes. In A.D. 1911 a grand *Aṣṭabandha kalaśa* refixing the shaking image was performed and the worships were made more punctual and imposing.

In A.D. 1916 the Court of Wards assumed the management of the Zamorin's Estate, which included Guruvāyūr. Uniformly courteous and considerate, its representative, Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. A. Throne, I.C.S., continued and completed the work of Konthi Menon. With the rendition of the Estate in A.D. 1928, the Zamorin once more became responsible for Guruvāyūr. Two years afterwards the High Court of Madras framed a scheme for the temple and the rights of the Zamorin were more clearly defined.

Only once a year, the *Avaṛnaś* or low caste people were admitted into the temple to make their obeisance directly in front of the Lord's image. After the last worship at night, of the *Ekadasi* festival, generally in December, the temple was thrown open to them. On November 1, 1931, Sri Kelappan started a *Satyāgraha* to secure this privilege for them on all days for all worships. But he could not control the unruly crowds. The temple was closed, and the mystic worships were conducted in the *Otikkan Matham.* The High Court upheld the rights of the temple; the *Satyāgrahis* withdrew; and worship was resumed in the temple on January 28, 1932.

In A.D. 1933 the *Kerala Sanātana Hindu Sabha* was organized under the auspices of the *Dēvasvam* to educate the people in the true ideals of the Hindu *Dharma.* After an exhaustive consideration of every relevant aspect, the Maharaja of Travancore threw open

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all the temples of his state to *Avaṛnas* in A.D. 1936. This lead took the wind out of the sails of the no-changers. At last, on June 1, 1947, the *Avaṛnas* were allowed the free entry which till then the *Savaṛnas* or caste Hindus alone had enjoyed.

With the opening of the temple to all Hindus without any distinction of caste the flow of pilgrims began to steadily increase. On January 30, 1952, was completed the ceremony of casing the flag-staff in gold, at a total expenditure of Rs. 21,457-39, the donation from the devotees for the purpose amounting to Rs. 31,168!

Functionaries: (a) External

Before the British occupation, Guruvāyūr was a temple state, though subordinate to Tṛkkuṇavāy till A.D. 1757. The Lord was its head, though He functioned through the *Yogam*, *Ūrāḷaṛ* and the *Manuṣam*. At the close of the worship every night, the *Tirthola*, or holy palm leaf containing the accounts of the day, was read before Him. Nothing was done except in His name. Deeds and documents were executed by the *Samudāya Manuṣam* with the consent or by the order of the governing committee of *Ūrāḷar* sitting in session, in the name of the Lord of Guruvāyūr: "*Guruvāyūr Tēvartirunāḷ perāl ūraḷaṛ uḷḷirunnu tamutāya manuṣam....*" was the invariable formula. The Lord was also lessor and lessee, landlord and tenant. As landlord He even owned slaves!

(a) *Yogam*: The *Yogam*, or assembly, consisting of the heads of the Namputiri families, believed to have been originally seventy two in number, met once a year, appointed the governing committee or *Ūrāḷar*, and decided all matters of common interest. In course of time, many families became extinct. In the seventeenth century there were only seven, and they constituted both the *Yogam* and the *Ūrāḷar*. Now Malliśśeri is the only survivor, and his family has survived only by adoption. After the dissolution of Tṛkkuṇavāy, the Zamorin became the supervising trustee as well.

(b) *Ūrāḷar*: The *Ūrāḷar*, literally governing committee of the village, corresponding to the *Ūrāḷum Gaṇam* of the Tamilnad inscriptions, were originally elected by the *Yogam*. With the gradual extinction of the original families, they became hereditary. But for the dissolution of Tṛkkuṇavāy in A.D. 1757, and the assumption of its powers as *Mēl-Etam* or over-lord by the Zamorin, Malliśśeri would now have been the sole *Ūrāḷan*.

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(3) *Samudāya Manuṣam*: *Manuṣam* literally man or representative of the *samudāya* or corporation, the *Samudāya Manuṣam* was the chief executive. He was appointed by the *Ūrāḷar*, and he held his office during their pleasure. He formally entered on his duties after receiving the *Idāṅgaḷi* or small measure, and the keys of the *Bhaṇḍāram*, or treasury, from the senior-most *Urāḷan* seated on the *Maṇṭapa* or platform facing the Lord.

(4) *Paṭṭar*: The word *Paṭṭar* here is not a caste name but an official designation, being a contraction of the formal *Paṭṭōla Kāryakkār*, corresponding to our chief secretary and keeper of records and correspondence. The Moḷiyakattu Paṭṭar was the chief secretary of Guruvāyūr. The Cāvakkāḍ Paṭṭar was the permanent representative of Tṛkkuṇavāyi, stationed at Cāvakkāḍ. The Kaṇṭiyūr Paṭṭar was the chief secretary of Tṛkkuṇavāyi, sent from there to conduct the annual festival and inspect the accounts. The families of Moḷiyakam and Cāvakkāḍ disappeared during the Mysorean occupation. The Kaṇṭiyūr Paṭṭar alone survives now as the chief secretary, not of Tṛkuṇavāyi, but of Guruvāyūr for all ceremonial purposes.

(5) *Puṟa-Koyma*: From *Puṟa* outside and *Kōyma* ruler, the *Puṟa-kōyma* enforced the orders of the *Ūraḷar* and the *Manuṣam* and protected the temple and its environs against aggression from outside. He was distinct from the *Aka-kōyma*, from *Akam* inside and *Kōyma* or ruler, corresponding to the *Śrīkāryam* of the Tamil temples, and *Paṭārar-Tiruvaḍi* of the Travancore inscriptions. The Vanneri Nampiṭi was the hereditary *Puṟa-Kōyma*. He was the head of the *Akampaṭi*, or escort, of the Lord when He went in procession for His *Āṟāṭṭu*, or ceremonial immersion, at Caṭṭukuḷam, receiving an honorarium of 40 *Faṇams* for his services. Before the *Tantṛi* formally inaugurated the festival, the *Puṟa-kōyma* had to declare that the festival could be safely conducted, that is, the law-and-order situation was perfect.

(6) *Mēl-Kōyma*: The *Mēl*, or over-all, *Kōyma*, or ruler, was originally the Cera emperor at Kodungallūr. After the destruction of Kodungallūr by the Cōḷa Rājarāja I in A.D. 1005 the most powerful of the local chiefs, Perumpaṭappu (Cochin) or Veḷḷāṭri, became the *Mēl-Kōyma*. Finally, in the fourteenth century, the Zamorin became its sovereign protector when he conquered Cochin. As has been already mentioned, after the dissolution of Tṛkuṇavāyi in A.D. 1757, he became the supervising trustee also.

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The temple records mention only a few offences against the Lord, and the offenders were not too strong for the *Puṟa-Kōyma* to invoke the aid of the *Mēl-Kōyma* to punish them.

(7) *Annual review of the Administration*: At the end of every year there was something like a review of the administration. As the Lord Himself was the head of the state, His government should be ideal, and none of His subjects should have any grievance. So before the flag was hoisted for the annual festival and before it was hauled down at its close, the *Paṭṭar* called out three times "Has any one any grievance"?. If anyone came forward, his complaint had to be heard and disposed of before proceeding further. The memory of this custom is still preserved not only in the call being made but also in a quaint ceremony in the course of the *Āṟāṭṭu* procession.

Till A.D. 1763, the *Āṟāṭṭu,* or ceremonial immersion of the image at the end of the festival had taken place in Cāṭṭukuḷam. Since this year, when its environs and approaches were occupied by the Cochin Raja, the *Āṟāṭṭu* is being performed, as now, in the tank immediately to the north of the temple. Every year, as the Lord is coming for the immersion, He stops at the north-east corner of the bank, where stands an *Attāṇi* or porter's rest. All the tom-toms cease, and for a few seconds absolute silence is maintained. Then a member of the Kanṭiyūr family comes forward and says "We have no grievance". The tom-toms and the trumpets are immediately resumed and the procession moves to the bathing *ghat.*

The Kanṭiyūr Paṭṭar, as has been said, has been the hereditary chief secretary of the Lord since A.D. 1757. One of the Paṭṭars was murdered, while the procession was going on, at the spot marked by the *Attāṇi.* The festival and everything connected with it was suspended. As the British had by this time established their supremacy, the Lord could not punish the guilty then and there through the *Puṟa-Kōyma* and the *Mēl-Kōyma.* These could do no more than hand over the murderer to the police. Thus satisfied, the Kantiyur family declared their satisfaction, and the suspended festival was continued and completed.

Functionaries: (*b*) *Internal*

Temples are built for the welfare of the people. The priest consecrates the image with the words: "*Lokānugraha hētvartham*

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sthirī bhava sukhāya nah, to confer blessings on the world and happiness on us, mayst Thou permanently reside here in the image"! The divine *Caitanya* or force thus inducted is maintained and augmented by the daily routine worships, occasional extra worships, and the annual *Utsava* or festival. Ordinarily, the Lord at Guruvāyūr is offered worship five times a day, which is done by the priests behind closed doors. The temple is opened to the public for *Darsan* at 3.30 a.m. It is closed at about 11 a.m. when the fourth or mid-day worship is half way through. Between the third worship and the fourth is performed the *Annaprāśan* or first feeding of babies with rice. Since the beginning of this century marriages also are arranged in the temple in front of the Lord near the flag-staff. Some 60 to 70 *Annaprāśans* and 70 to 80 marriages a day are not now unusual.

The temple is re-opened at 4.30 p.m. and the mid-day worship is completed. After the *Dīpārādhana* or worship with the waving of lights at sun-set, begins the fifth or last worship, which comes to a close at 10 p.m., the last item being the reading of the *Tirthola* or accounts of the day.

Of the extra worships, the most important is the *Udayāstamana Pūja*, so called because formerly it had begun at sun-rise (*Udaya*) and was continued without a break till sun-set (*Astamana*). Consisting of the routine five and extra fourteen, in all nineteen, worships, the *Udayāstamana Pūja* is now begun the previous night itself, the *Ōtikkans* being responsible for the additional fourteen.

The annual *Utsava* or festival had in former days a three-fold aspect: political, cultural, and religious. Its political significance has already been referred to. As an exhibition of Kerala culture, we have to be content with a bare mention of the numerous processions with richly caparisoned elephants, the exposition of the *Puranas* by the *Cākkiyars*, the *Bhajans*, *Kirtans*, and *Nāmajapas*, and the exciting performances of the *Mārāmars* on the drum.

Two features of the Guruvāyūr festival deserve more than a passing notice. One is the complete absence of fire-works. The people account for it by saying that the Lord, *Kṛṣṇa*, being a baby, will be frightened by the firing of guns! But the baby remained in the temple when the goddesses were brought here for their now extinct *Pūram* festival, marked by a profusion of fire-works. A

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more rational explanation might be the temple was founded at a time when gun-powder was unknown in Malabar, and the proverbial conservatism of temple authorities would not permit its introduction when it came into use.

The other peculiar feature is the running race of the elephants and the running circumambulations on the ninth day and the tenth. In the evening, before the flag was hoisted, the elephants, which are to participate in the processions, are taken to *Maññuḷāl*, half a mile directly east of the temple, and started on a race. The elephant which enters the *Gōpuram*, or ornamental gate-way, and, running round the temple seven times, touches the flag-staff first becomes the leader or the state elephant. In all the processions of the festival, it takes its stand in the centre, and the Lord takes His seat on its back alone. This elephant enjoys also certain perquisites. In ancient days the elephants had all come from Tṛkkuṇavāy. And the drivers must have vied with one another to secure for their elephant the coveted privileges of the leader. Though Tṛkkuṇavāy was destroyed, the ancient custom is thus still preserved.

At night, on the ninth day, the Lord goes out on a boar hunt. One of the chief pests of Kerala in ancient days was the wild boar. The boars now consist of devotees disguised as boars, the popular belief being that those who take part in it will have a long life and also a place reserved for them in heaven. The state elephant carrying the Lord drives them all into the outer court-yard and runs after them nine times round the temple, at the end of which the boar leader collapses and the hunt comes to a close. After the *Āṛāṭṭu*, or ceremonial immersion in the tank, the state elephant, with the Lord on its back, runs round the temple, and stops only at the close of the eleventh round, when the Lord dismounts and proceeds to His *sanctum sanctorum*. As the circumambulations go on, with the people urging the elephant to greater and greater speed by twisting its tail and other devices as though it is a common bullock, even the old and the crippled, martyrs to rheumatism and paralysis, are drawn into the crowd by an irresistible impulse and run with it, overcoming their handicaps and finding themselves cured and happy at the end.

The object of the running rounds during the boar hunt is obvious. But the running circumambulations after the *Āṛāṭṭu* are

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not so easy to explain. Perhaps it is an objective and symbolic expression of the Lord's joy at the happy conclusion of His annual festival and an evidence of the new energy obtained through the rites of the various days of the *Utsava*. From the root *Su*, *Utsava* means a spirt up, here of divine *Caitanya* or force. It is a sort of re-enforcement or rejuvenation. More elaborate and complicated than the routine worship, the rites are performed not by the priests who are responsible for the daily worship but by people well-versed in the *Tantras* or science and art of temple worship. The various ceremonies of the *Utsava* at Guruvāyūr are performed by the *Tantra-kur*, consisting of the *Tantri* and the *Otikkans*.

(1) *Tantri*: Puḷakkara Cennamañgalam Nampūtiri is the hereditary *Tantṛi* of Guruvāyūr. The *Tantṛimatham* on the eastern bank of the northern tank is his permanent official residence. It was one of his ancestors, Cennamañgalam Narayanan Nampūtiri, born in A.D. 1427, who wrote the *Tantṛasamuccaya*, according to which all temple worship is now conducted in Kerala. Originally belonging to Guruvāyur, he was also the chief priest of the temple. Subsequently, when the Zamorin extended his authority over these regions, he became his domestic chaplain. These duties, along with other calls on him as the authoritative exponent of the *Tantras*, compelled him gradually to withdraw from his daily duties at Guruvāyūr, where he now comes only on special occasions. Neither Aḷvānceri Tamprākkaḷ, the highest sacerdotal dignity in Kerala, nor Jagatguru Sankarācārya can enter the *sanctum sanctorum*.

(2) *Otikkans*: The *Otikkan* is both a teacher and reciter of the Vedas. He officiates also as domestic priest. Guruvāyūr has four *Otikkans*, the descendants of those who had formerly ministered to the needs of the original seventy-two families. When Cennamañgalam was the chief priest, they had assisted him by performing the third worship of the day. Even now the third worship is their responsibility. The fourteen extra worships of the *Udayāstaman* have also now to be performed by them. They officiate also for the *Tantṛi* in rites which he has to perform, including the offer of the *Utsavabali* to the spirit attendants of the Lord.

(3) *Śānti-kaḷakam*: Lower in status are the *Śāntis* or priests who perform the daily worship. While the *Tantṛi* and the *Otik-*

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kans are collectively called *Tantṛa-kūr,* the daily officiating priests are called *Śānti-kaḷakam* or priest-service. The former are hereditary, the latter hold their office during pleasure. The former have their own quarters outside the temple and can live with their families, the latter have to observe strict *Brahmacarya,* and reside within the temple walls, subject to surprise inspection at night by the *Ūrāḷar.* As they cannot go out, they are called *Purappatāśāntis* (*Pura* out, *Patā* not going). The *Śāntikkaḷakam* had also to pay a small amount every year, like other servants, to the private purse of the Lord, to the *Ūrāḷar,* and to the *Samudāya Manuṣam.* Till the Mysorean occupation, the *Śānti-kaḷakam* consisted of *Embrāntiris* or Tulu Brahmins. The *Śāntis* now are all Namputiris.

(a) *Melśānti*: The *Melśānti* is the chief priest. On account of the ascetic restrictions on his daily life, he is appointed only for six months at a time. He is appointed by the *Ūrāḷar* on the recommendation of the *Tantṛi.* Before he enters on his duties he has to undergo a probation for fifteen days under the *Tantṛi* and the *Otikkans.*

(b) *Kīḻśānti*: *Kīḻśānti* means assistant priest. Guruvāyūr has two *Kīḻśāntis,* appointed for two months at a time. Their duties are to prepare the offerings for the daily worship, bring water for the *Abhiṣēka,* make sandal paste, and distribute the holy water and flowers. They have also to take the *Utsava vigraha,* the small image of the Lord, on elephant back in the numerous processions of the ordinary and festival days. They cannot touch the *Mūlavigraha,* or original image made of antimony or act for the *Mēlśānti,* which can be done only by the *Tantṛa-kūr.*

Of all the temples of Kerala Guruvāyūr is now the most popular. The procession of humanity that comes here to receive the grace of the Lord swells day after day. The moment we enter the grand gate-way, an indescribable bliss bursts upon us, an infinite joy wells up in us. Expectant mothers come here to pray for easy delivery and a bonnie baby like Little Kṛṣṇa himself. The childless also have their wishes fulfilled. Bent down and prostrate with disease, the sick come here and are quickly healed. The depressed and the disappointed go back assured of their future. In the general atmosphere of joy and happiness, all griefs and sorrows are forgotten. Even the very stones of the pavement

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seem to say "Rejoice and be exceeding glad." Those who come here sobbing invariably go back smiling.

Fortunately, Guruvāyūr is accessible by road at all times of the year. Through booking is available by way of Trichur from all places connected by rail. There is also no lack of accommodation for tourists and pilgrims of every rank and condition.

Guruvāyūr does not owe its greatness to its antiquity; Tirunāvāyi and Trivandrum are much older. It is also not due to its size; Trichūr and Peruvanam are much bigger. It owes nothing to royal patronage; the endowment of the Zamorin, once the emperor of Kerala, does not bring much more than one or two measures of rice per day! By saying that the Lord's grace floweth where it listeth we do worse than beg the question; it means that the Lord is fickle, which He is not. The real reason for the sanctity of Guruvāyūr seems to be the observance, albeit imperfect, of the rules prescribed in the *Tantrasamuccaya*. A stricter observance of these rules by the authorities, priests, and pilgrims, alike, would certainly enhance its sanctity and make it a veritable Lourdes for Hindus all over the world.

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The Historical Significance of the Avatara Concept

BY

SUKUMAR AZHICODE, M.A. (Mal.), M.A. (Sans.), B.Com., B.T.

Embedded in the vast traditionary lore of India, the concept of the Avataras yet continues to hold its fascination undying over the minds of the savant and the layman alike. But while the attraction for the ordinary man gets easily exhausted by the enjoyment of its story-element, the scholar is prodded on to exposition and interpretation, in his quest for truth. It is therefore regrettable that much was not made of the rich internal meaningfulness of the theory of Incarnations of the Hindus. As a religious idea and a theological concept, however, it was fully exploited by the Indian philosophers. But its significance in no way gets bounded by the merely religious or theological explanations. Some quarters, for example, the Theosophists, had made an attempt at interpreting it in terms of Biology and the theory of Evolution, though it is now viewed as an antic of the pseudo-scientific attitude taken up by some of the over-zealous apologists of Indian culture a few decades ago. Despite these efforts, this theory still remains baffling, challenging and controversial. As Sri Aurobindo remarked, "To the modern mind Avatarhood is one of the most difficult to accept or to understand of all the ideas that are streaming in from the East upon the rationalised human consciousness."[1]

Historical bias of the Purānas

A more comprehending theory of interpretation is long awaited. Here the writer may be permitted to present a theory based on a historical angle of vision.

One is tempted to embrace the historical theory in preference to the scientific exegesis of the Theosophists, as the puranas are primarily religion, obliquely history and by no stretch of imagination science. They embody the meeting point of the

1. Anilbaran Ray: *The Message of the Gita*, pp. 67-68.

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religious insight of the Indian seers and their historical vision. On the one hand, their religious basis is undeniable in so far as they are traditionally viewed as supplements to, and elaborations of, the Vedas. On the other hand, their historical character is implicit in the five characteristics attributed by the ancients to them, viz. Sarga (creation), Pratisarga (counter-creation), Vamsa (dynasty), Manvanthara (cycle of ages) and Vamsanucarita (narration of genealogy of kings). Such inalienable features of history as chronology and genealogy mark down the puranas as history of some sort. While their edifice is religion their superstructure is without doubt history. Prof. Pargiter's opinions in this context are illuminating: "The Sutas had from remote times preserved the genealogies of gods, rishis and kings, and traditions and ballads about celebrated men, that is exactly the material-tales, songs and ancient lore, out of which the purana was constructed..... It would be quite natural that, after the religious hymns were formed into the Veda, the ancient secular tales and lore should have been collected in a Purana."[2]

So the concept of Avatarhood derived from the Puranas is construed in this thesis as a historical vision of the ancient Indians coloured deeply by their inalienable spiritual outlook. So long as the Puranas are religio-historic in nature, no Puranic theory can hope to be divested of this dual content and assume a scientific character.

Avatara Stories

The stories relating to the ten incarnations of godhead, the Vishnu, are many in Indian mythology which is mainly represented by Itihasas and Puranas. Scholars have traced down their primary roots to hints and anecdotes in the Rig Veda, Satapatha Brahmana and Taittiriya Samhita which are found to have some parallel projections even among the ancient lore of the Iranians. But with all these antecedents, it was left for the compilers of the Puranas to have invested them with new significance both in form and content. The various avatars are handed down to us in the order of Matsya (Fish), Kurma (Tortoise), Varaha (Boar), Narasimha (Man-lion), Vamana, Parasurama, Sri Rama,

2. Pargiter: *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 22-24.

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Sri Krishna, the Buddha and Kalki. One may add here that it is this ascending order in the series of incarnations from an aquating being to the perfect human being that gave the Theosophists the cue to the evolutionary explanation.

Let us view the essentials of each avatara-story and come to our own conclusion. (1) The first avatara of Matsya was occasioned by the extreme peril that threatened the Vedas through the agency of the demon Hayagriva, when Lord Vishnu manifested himself before King Kritamāla in order to exterminate the demon subsequently. (2) The next avatara of Kurma had its genesis in the dire need to rehabilitate the mountain of Mandara which vanished while the Devas and the Asuras were churning the Ocean of Milk to extract nectar. (3) Vishnu assumed the shape of a Varaha in order to kill the demon Hiranyaksha who concealed the earth in the ocean. (4) It was to destroy Hiranyakasipu that the Lord took the complex form of Narasimha. (5) The subduing of Bali was the immediate purpose of the avatara of Vāmana. (6) Parasurama's mission was to extirpate vicious war-lords. (7) Rama killed Ravana, the demon-king. (8) Krishna's greatest work was the enunciation of the message of the Gita. (9) The emergence of the Buddha was mainly to call a halt to and order a reversal of the deviation of religion into inhuman practices and corrupt shibboleths. (10) The last avatara is yet to be which, it is prognosticated, will bring about universal cataclysm and total destruction of evil-doers in the world.

Exposition of Avatara-Stories

It looks quite possible that these stories embody a vision. For none could claim perfect historical factuality to the avatara-stories which dare to equate fish, Rama and the Buddha in supreme indifference even to Biology. They are meant for imagination and illustration and not for matter-of-fact statement. For example when a Purana says that the celestial damsel Urvasi and the King Pururavas spent 61000 years in dalliance, one can relegate it to the sphere of phantasy away from the sphere of reality. Our task here is to see through the translucence of mythological phantasy and view truth in its pristine clarity.

Here the Bhagavad-Gita helps. It was the Gita which first endowed these luxuriant mythic tales with a philosophical ethos. The oft-quoted statement of Avatarhood in that scripture runs

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thus: "Whensoever there is the fading of righteousness and the upsurgence of unrighteousness, then I project myself into birth. For the deliverance of the pious, for the destruction of the evil-doers, for the stabilisation of the Dharma, I am born from age to age".

The Gita in these verses furnished us with a key to unlock the door of this puranic treasure-chest. The key-sentence therein is—"I am born from age to age". Evidently this means that incarnation represents a cyclic movement of certain events. It is a periodical and repetitionary manifestation of the Divinity. In that case the limitation of incarnations as Decemvirate can only mean that there are ten different types of avataras. The ten avataras thus become a group of typical cases and not a limited number of individual cases. In other words this ten is not an absolute number, but only representational. The Puranic sages simply want to demonstrate that there are ten different stages of crises to be encountered by human society and that God has willed ten distinct projections of its power to deliver humanity therefrom.

What are these ten critical stages humanity has to face ever and anon? (1) Take the first avatara of Matsya. At that stage, the Vedas are in extreme jeopardy when there happens a divine manifestation of creative energy to thwart the crisis. The first critical stage hence is that of the decline of spirituality, where Vedas stand as the repository of spiritual values and the demon Hayagriva as their inveterate foe. (2) This has an antithesis in the next crisis. Just as the lack of spirituality is detrimental to the progress of society, lack of zest for worldly life equally hinders its growth. So the next crisis to be encountered by society is the fall in material values of human life. The descending of the mountain Mandara while the gods and the demons were engaged in the distillation of nectar graphically illustrates this social crisis, the mountain symbolising our mundane life and nectar spiritual life. The moral is, in our pursuit after the spiritual, the material should never be altogether lost sight of.

The greatest crisis human society is destined to face is that of despotism or totalitarianism. The theory of avataras, has provided for it in its various forms. (3) The commonest form of totalitarianism is military despotism. The autocratic reign of Hiranyaksha assisted by such demons as Sumbha and Nisumbha typifies such a

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chronic condition of community. (4) The worst variety of totalitarianism is atheistic despotism where there is not only external enslavement, but regimentation of ideas also. This tragic situation is exemplified by the totalitarian regime of Hiranyakasipu who wants to bring under control even the faith of his son Prahalada. The arch-demon practices all the subtle methods of brainwashing on his victim and resorts to the method of physical liquidation where all the others fail, though he is to meet his final doom in that. In picturing Hiranyaksha and Hiranyakasipu as brothers, the Puranas scored their best stroke of political awareness, inasmuch as military despotism is a blood-relation of totalitarianism over the minds. (5) Related to these two varieties of despotism, yet somewhat removed from them, stands benevolent despotism. It is usually the creation of external circumstances and not the product of an internal urge like the craze for power or the obsession of an idea. Bali's despotism was of this comparatively harmless persuasion and yet it was doomed to failure, as all despotisms are. See how the ancient Rishis took care to keep Bali in the line of direct descent from the despotic kings, Hiranyaksha and Hiranyakasipu—he was the great grandson of Hiranyakasipu. They in fact wanted thereby to remind us of the truth that all despotisms are the same in essence. (6) Another type of political disaster is the hegemony of a few war-lords. Parasurama who was reputed for having cut down the bellicose chieftains in 21 rounds was up in arms against the systems of war-lordism and oligarchy.

(7) Human society at times finds itself inundated by crass sensualism, and a highly mechanized civilization robs life of the charms of non-material values and extra-mundane aspirations. It was a similar impasse that menaced mankind at the time of Ravana who was given to bachanalian orgies and whose Lanka was a machine-governed kingdom. Sri Rama who was the embodiment of simple living and high thinking fought this sensual civilisation to its grave. (8) Next we come to Sri Krishna. The society that confronted this avatar was one steeped in lassitude and inactivity and he set himself to the task of not only preaching Activism, but practising it as well. All the reputed 'lilas' of Krishna, culminating in the role of the charioteer who guided Arjuna onwards to fighting, underline his activistic philosophy. (9) The Buddha was the incarnation meant to bring about Reformation when religion became putrid and petrified as happened in the case of Hindu-

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ism in the sixth century B.C. (10) Kalki is the harbinger of revolutions and violent holocausts which alone can retrieve humanity from the total depravity and rottenness to which it has got itself sunk.

Here are the ten dire stages that society is ordained to face, viz. decline in spiritual values, decline in mundane values, military despotism, atheistic totalitarianism, benevolent autocracy, oligarchy, sensualism, inactivity, religious corruption and total depravity. History is studded with instances when such crises have overtaken mankind to be later on released from their clutches by some intervention or other. Demons like Hayagriva, Hiranyaksha and Hiranyakasipu are only prototypes of tyrants and dictators who were the scourages of mankind. However omnipotent they seemed, humanity could overcome them and outlive their crimes. The theory of Avatarhood takes it for granted that at no time will society be held to permanent ransom by tyrants and calamities and some agency shall show the way out. It is this manifestation of the forces of deliverance of society that is termed Avatar in the Hindu Puranas. The teaching of the Gita is that whenever there is a recrudescence of evil forces, there is a corresponding upsurgence of the forces of righteousness to bring them under control. Since society is susceptible to decay and break down in ten points, there ought to be ten methods or incarnations to counteract them. These phenomena go on for ever, in the incessant rhythm of periodicity and repetition. Perhaps Fisher means this when he says: "I can see only one emergency following upon another as war follows upon war".[3]

Theory of Renaissance

Ostensibly this theory of incarnation envisages the rudiments of a theory of Renaissance. It may sound a bit unconventional to be told that society survives any onslaught against its stability by the mysterious emergence of a divine power and that the survival by society of every such diaster is what is meant by Renaissance. When Burckhardt, the Swiss historian, first propounded the notion of Renaissance, he never could have this divinity-survival-idea anywhere in his thoughts. But when count Hermann Keyserling meets in human society occasional polarifications of the forces of evil to be balanced by a counter-polarity

3. Vide Preface to 'History of Europe'.

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of the forces of good, he is very near to the Renaissance idea of the Gita and the Puranas.

The Occidental historians and philosophers have a facile tendency to view Renaissance as a unique phenomenon bound exclusively with the Florence of the Middle Ages. The Oriental view is intended to smash up the cocksureness of this western notion and to view Renaissance as a universal marvel, occurring at odd intervals to be followed by inevitable slow-down and relapse. Hence history, in the eyes of the Indian, is a continuum of renaissance and relapse, and not one of incessant progress. Vivekananda lends his voice to this truth in his address on "Christ, The Messenger", delivered at Los Angeles in 1900: "The wave rises on the ocean, and there is a hollow. Again another wave rises, perhaps bigger than the former, to fall down again, similarly again to rise driving onward. In the march of events, we notice the rise and fall, and we generally look towards the rise, forgetting the fall. But both are necessary, and both are great. This is the nature of the universe. Whether in the world of our thoughts, the world of our relations in society, or in our spiritual affairs, the same movement of succession, of rises and falls, is going on.[4] Pandit Nehru too seems to be aware of this phenomenon and muses wonderingly. "Thus we see actually one of the strange instances of humanity visibly moving backwards. We have this in India, in Egypt, in China, in Greece and Rome and elsewhere. After knowledge and experience have been laboriously built up, a culture and civilization built up, there is a stop. A veil seems to be cast over the past, and though we have glimpses of it, the mountain of knowledge and experience has to be climbed afresh".[5]

Yet the Indian is never despondent. For him the reversal is sure to be followed by a renaissance at the instigation of an Avatar. The cycle never stops. This is the crux of Indian historical optimism. The Indians never allow themselves to be worried about such terms as "decline and fall" like Gibbon, Spengler, Wells or Childe.

4. *Selections from Swami Vivekananda*, p. 303.
5. *Glimpses of World History*, p. 139.

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Reviews

DIVIDE AND QUIT by Penderel Moon. University of California Press, 1962 pp. 302 Two maps, $ 5.50.

Penderel Moon was a member of the ICS until the British withdrawal from India in 1947 and later Head of the Government Planning Commission in New Delhi. He is the author of several books including the well known *Strangers in India*. In this book he gives an intimate account of the disturbances in the Punjab which marked the end of British rule. It is largely based on his personal knowledge and experiences as administrator. The book falls into two fairly distinct halves. The second half contains a detailed, connected and in places almost day to day account of the disturbances that occurred from the end of August 1947 onwards in the State of Bahawalpur—a territory immediately adjacent to the Punjab—and of the manner in which they were handled or mishandled. 'The narrative is confined almost entirely to my own limited but first hand experience of the troubles in Bahawalpur'. The earlier part of the book concerns itself with the causes of the upheaval and traces political events in India and the Punjab from 1937 until their tragic denoument ten years later. 'It is not a purely personal narrative, but it is not objective history'.

But the subjectivity of Moon's narrative is that of a well wisher of India who expresses his reactions to recent occurrences frankly and in a reasoned and balanced manner. He addresses himself repeatedly to the question whether the partition of India could have been avoided and a permanent *modus vivendi* evolved between the adherents of the Congress and the Muslim league. He traces carefully the stages in which the mutual relations between the two parties deteriorated, marks out what he considers the wrong turns taken by Congress and its leaders including Gandhi and Nehru, and does not hesitate to blame the British who were in supreme control for their slackness and indifference during the crucial years that followed 1937. The position of the Sikhs and the problems relating to it are discussed quite fully and critically.

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The present writer thinks that most of his criticisms are very well founded. The author succinctly sums up his findings in the last Chapter (XIV) and any one in a hurry can get a rough idea of the subject by reading only this chapter, but the whole narrative must be read by any one who wishes to gain a good knowledge of the actors and motives that dominated this crucial period of India's evolution.

There follow some extracts which will be seen to justify the reviewer's estimate of the high value of the book. The demand after the 1937 elections put forward by the majority party of the Congress in UP that the Muslim League Party in the Assembly must cease to function as a separate group was the first wrong turn: 'They offered the league not partnership but absorption', remarks Moon (15). C.R.'s opposition to the 'quit India' demand 'was plain common sense, but in the policy which he advocated towards Jinnah and the Muslims he showed more than common sense; he showed far-sighted statesmanship' (27). 'The Congress had once claimed to speak for the whole of India. The claim was invalid and they had been compelled to abate it. Jinnah now claimed to speak for all the Muslims of India. This claim was also invalid; but unlike Congress he was not compelled to abate it and soon he succeeded for all practical purposes in making it good' (41). The reason for failure to keep India united lies deeper than Gandhi's 'ill-starred interventions' at critical times or Nehru's 'fits of arrogant impatience'; 'but Congress leaders wanted a strong United India; the League a divided or divisible one' (63). We have this on the Mountbatten plan: 'The plan was acclaimed not only in India but throughout the world; and with all its defects and grim promise of bloodshed—the certainty of which those at the summit did not realise—it was perhaps the best that could be devised. Certainly no-one either then or later was able to suggest anything better' (67). From the point of view of preserving Indian unity the resignation of the ministries at the outbreak of the war 'was perhaps the most foolish step Congress ever took' (273); the emergency might, the author thinks, have been used to reverse gear in their policy to the Muslim League and take them into the partnership that had been denied them earlier. But the chance was missed and Congress, blind to the importance of reaching accommodation with the Muslim while there was yet time and obsessed by the strug-

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gle with the British, gave up office and with it the prospects of coalitions with the League. Within six months Jinnah and the League had committed themselves to the demand for Pakistan' (273). If there was any chance of preventing a holocaust in the Punjab, 'it vanished when the Sikhs were permitted to combine with Khizr in forming a government to the exclusion of the League. This fatal step precluded all possibility of a peaceful solution of the Sikh problem' (276). 'The vigour and speed with which Lord Mountbattan acted had at least the merit of confining the conflagration to the Punjab' (277). 'It is a measure of Jinnah's guilt but also of his greatness, that without him Pakistan would never have come into being' (286).

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

CHARLES GRANT AND BRITISH RULE IN INDIA by Ainslie Thomas Embree, London. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1962. Pages 320. Bibliography & Index, £ 25 net in U.K. only.

This is a study of the career of Charles Grant, private merchant and servant of the East India Company in Bengal from 1768 to 1790 and for the next thirty years one of the most influential figures in The Home Administration of Indian Affairs. The book is not biographical, but examines Grant's official career and opinions, and provides an insight into the policies and events that created the complex relationship between India and Great Britain. Grant's interpretations of British policy in India, though in many respects one-sided and opposed by others who held other views, nevertheless offer many suggestive ideas for the inner meaning of the expansion of the European peoples in the nineteenth century.

'For Grant', says Embree in the Preface, 'three areas were of special concern—the Company's monopoly, Christian missions, and territorial expansion—and the examination of his views in regard to them provides the organizing principle of this study'. Grant insisted throughout that the trading monopoly enjoyed by the Company was necessary for the political administration of India; what he had in mind was the necessity of government control of trading relations between the two countries, since he was convinced that despite great deficiencies the Company's form of government had established a base on which good government

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could be built. Grant was certain that a relaxation of the monopoly would lead to a large influx of European merchants of all kinds into India which would result in the end of British Rule in India (166-7).

Grant had a very poor opinion of Hindu Society and thought that all its defects were due to the influence of its bad religion (145-6). He thought it was the duty of the Company to send out missionaries to preach Christianity and held that British rule can never really be reconciled to India until the 'nature of Hindustan' was radically altered (143). He had a dread of the Company's English servants falling victims to the 'deplorable infatuation' with Indian life and becoming 'indianized' and he opposed Wellesley's proposal for a college in Calcutta to train officers on the score that it will promote this deleterious tendency. He wanted to introduce 'light' in India by which he meant not merely the preaching of the Gospel but the introduction of the whole of Western learning together with the English language—an anticipation of later developments in the country. Like Cromer at a later time, Grant also held that Britain should be guided not by what 'the conquered people thought best for their own interest; rather every decision should be made in reference to what, by the light of western knowledge and influence, tempered by local considerations, we conscientiously think is best for the race' (290)—a view which presupposes both the transformation of the old society and the possibility of the conquered people accepting the values of the governors.

He was totally opposed to territorial expansion and systematically opposed the policies of Warren Hastings, Wellesley and Lord Hastings. He criticized the subsidiary system as the cause of many unnecessary wars. He said it had an implication of extending British rule over the whole of India, and involved 'the idea not of established tranquillity, but of perpetual warfare, not of increasing prosperity from the arts of peace, but of continual expenditure both of wealth and human life' (211). Grant was convinced that the idea of uniting India under one sovereignty was a false dream (209), that the attempt to do so had been the cause of downfall of previous rulers (226), and wanted British dominion in India to be confined to where Clive had left it—a view which sounds absurd in the light of later history.

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But with all their shortcomings, and they are many, Grant's views and writings made a great contribution; they created an uneasy conscience about the very existence of British Rule in India; he saw that opposition to that rule was the normal and natural attitude of the subject people. This unease was a factor in the transfer of power in 1947, (287).

Even in this well produced book something has gone wrong at p. 264 1.5 from the bottom of the text, either a line or phrase having dropped out during printing.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

MUGHAL BIBLIOGRAPHY by Vicaji Taraporevala and D. N. Marshall. The New Book Co. (P.) Ltd., Bombay 1962 pp. viii and 164.

This is a very handy and succinctly annotated bibliography of the works of 437 Persian authors whose names are arranged alphabetically. It was begun by Mr. Vicaji D. B. Taraporevala publisher, bookseller, philanthrophist, and numismatist, who did not live to see the fruits of his labour in print. His collaborator Mr. D. N. Marshall holds out the promise of a really comprehensive work covering materials in all languages with each item treated in an exhaustive manner with fuller annotation. It is said to be in the press at the moment and scholars will look forward to its appearance with great interest.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

THE SOMA-HYMNS OF THE RGVEDA. A fresh interpretation Part III RV. 9.51-7 by S. S. Bhawe, Hon. Professor of Sanskrit, M. S. University of Baroda. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1962, pp. iv and 228. Price Rs. 7.20.

Prof. Bhawe continues his scholarly and up-to-date commentary on the Soma hymns calculated to demonstrate the great value of Pāṇini for Vedic exigesis. Dr. Bhawe takes account of the latest researches of western scholars in the field without feeling constrained to accept all their views. Whether scholars agree or not with particular points made by Bhawe they will find him generally fresh and stimulating. Pandit Shri M. V. Upadhyaya

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contributes his *Rkpadālocana* on two of the hymns interpreted here viz. 9. 52-3, and this figures as an Appendix.

The authorities of the M. S. University have done well to enable Dr. Bhawe to continue his work even after his retirement by appointing him Hon. Professor in the Faculty of Arts and we hope the learned scholar will be able to pursue his plans to their successful conclusion.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

SOME FIRMANS, SANADS AND PARWANAS (1578-1802 A.D.) edited by K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Director of Archives, Bihar State Central Record Office, Bihar, Patna, 1962. Pages X and 152.

This book contains a collection of documents mostly belonging to the 18th century which were brought together in the course of surveying and cataloguing the old vernacular records lying unexplored in the record rooms of the offices of the Commissioners of Divisions and Collectors with a view to reorganizing the State Records and concentrating them in a Central Record Office. It contains 94 Firmans and 601 Sanads, Parwanas etc., all summarized in English together with an indication of their provenance. There is a brief introduction in the beginning, in which the editor explains the nature of the records, besides biographical notes, glossary and Index at the end. Students interested in the details of land tenures and revenue administration in Bihar in the late Mughal period will find the book useful, but they will not find it easy to get at the exact documents of interest to them as the records are not arranged chronologically, but rather haphazard, and the Index is a bare list of names of men and places.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

SCIENCE AND CIVILIZATION IN CHINA. Joseph Needham. Vol. IV: 1 Physics. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1962, pp. xxxiv and 434, 84 s. net.

The world of scholars will be pleased to welcome this instalment of Dr. Needham's magnificent survey of Chinese Thought

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and contribution to world culture which shows that the great task is proceeding according to plan. This volume is to comprise three parts the first (under review) devoted to Physics as such, the second and third being given respectively to Mechanical Engineering and Civil Engineering with Nautics.

Chinese culture developed three branches of physics in particular: optics, acoustics and magnetism. This was in striking contrast to the West, where mechanics and dynamics were relatively advanced in medieval times but magnetic phenomena almost unknown. Dr. Needham avers: 'we have attempted to offer some explanation for this pattern but without any great conviction, and better understanding of the imbalance must await further research'. In fact it is the supreme merit of Dr. Needham's work that it is marked by an incisive clarity which never fails to mark precisely the degree of certitude that should attach to every statement made in the course of the extensive array of evidence and its interpretation. The spirit in which obscure and controversial topics are handled is an education in itself.

China and Europe differed profoundly and Chinese physics was faithful to a prototypic wave theory and perennially averse to atoms. In the study of light, the optics of the Chinese kept more or less abreast of the Arabs, and thus well ahead of mediaeval Europe. China's music developed differently from other civilizations, and the study of acoustics took its own course there. Conditioned by certain inventions long unknown elsewhere (the bell itself, the free reed and percussion instruments of curious timbre), it found its way, in steps traced fully here, to the recognition of sound as vibration. But the true achievement of pre-Renaissance Chinese physics is in the realm of magnetism, for the directive property of the lodestone was explored at least as early as the first century. In China men were arguing about the cause of the declination of the magnetic needle and using it practically at sea, before Europeans even knew of its polarity. An investigation with unexpected results is that by which Dr. Needham finds that the origins of the magnetic compass, the oldest of all scientific pointer-readings, lie in certain ancient techniques of divination which also gave rise to the game of chess.

In his vast undertaking Dr. Needham is actuated by a firm faith in the continuity and universality of science and technology

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and he makes this crystal clear in his reply to a friendly critic which deserves to be reproduced in his own words. 'Some time ago a not wholly unfriendly critic of our previous volumes wrote, in effect: this book is fundamentally unsound for the following reasons. The authors believe (1) that human social evolution has brought about a gradual increase in man's knowledge of Nature and control of the external world, (2) that this science is an ultimate value and with its applications forms today a unity into which the comparable contributions of different civilizations (not isolated from each other as incompatible and mutually incomprehensible organisms) all have flowed and flow as rivers to the sea, (3) that along with this progressive process human society is moving towards forms of ever greater unity, complexity and organization. We recognized these invalidating theses as indeed our own, and if we had a door like that of Wittenberg long ago we would not hesitate to nail them to it. No critic has subjected our beliefs to a more acute analysis, yet it reminded us of nothing so much as that letter which Matteo Ricci wrote home in + 1595 to describe the various absurd ideas which the Chinese entertained about cosmological questions. (One), he said, they do not believe in solid crystalline celestial spheres, (Item) they say that the heavens are empty, (Item) they have five elements instead of the four so universally recognized as consonant with truth and reason, etc. But we have made our point'

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

FOUNDERS OF MODERN EGYPT—Mary Rowlatt. Foreword by Dr. G. P. Gooch. Asia Publishing House, Bombay 1962. Pages XII and 188. Illustrations, Maps, Bibliography, Index, Rs. 16.75.

This book is, as Gooch says, a genuine contribution to history. It tells from inside the story of the birth of Egyptian nationalism. Cairo is much in the news today and Nasser has fulfilled the ambitions which led Egyptian patriots to shed their blood eighty years ago. Thus though the narrative in this book ends with the battle of Tel al Kebir in 1882, the surrender of Arabia, and the inauguration of the British occupation under the prudent guidance of Lord Cromer, there is a breath of actuality in these pages.

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Miss Rowlatt is exceptionally well equipped for the task. She was born in Egypt and speaks Arabic. Her family has been associated with Egyptian affairs for five generations and she has been able to draw on interesting and valuable family letters. Her story centres round two heroes—the soldier and war minister Ahmad Arabi, the Arabi Pasha of the text-books, and the teacher and thinker Muhammad Abdu, the supiritual leader of Egyptian nationalism, of whom little has been known hitherto and the author gives us a full length protrait. Naturally the thinker comes out better than the man of action, and as Gooch aptly observes 'Mazzini was never exposed to the temptations which assailed Cavour'. Miss Rowlatt has an acute awareness of the reasons for the Egyptian ill-feeling against the English and she does not allow her judgement to be affected by this. Her re-opening of an old episode is not to accentuate misunderstandings, 'not to create bitterness, but to heal it, not to divide people, but to unite them' as she says.

Still it must be said that the narrative does not make easy reading and on account of some intrinsic defect of style what should have been a swift moving story appears cluttered up with an excess of detail and sometimes irrelevant trivialities. But this should not deter the discerning reader from getting the full benefit out of the book written with much knowledge and sympathy.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

BRITISH STATESMEN IN INDIA, by V. B. Kulkarni. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd. Price Rs. 20/-.

There have been several instances of journalists who have written readable histories of modern times. Sri V. B. Kulkarni, the author of the book under review, is a journalist of note, having worked on the staff of the Ceylon Daily News, Colombo, and later as the editor of the National Standard, now called the Indian Express. An author of books like 'The Future of Indian States', 'Is Pakistan necessary'?, 'Heroes who made History' and 'Constitution made easy' which is really a commentary on the Indian Constitution of 1950, Sri Kulkarni is qualified to write on the history of modern India.

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He chooses fifteen Governors-General and weaves the history of British India around these personalities. One may not agree with the appropriateness of his choice of the fifteen Governors-General. Why, for instance, Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Lawrence are omitted but Lord Minto and Lord Chelmsford are included are matters on which difference of opinion may appear. Though he does not seem to have utilised the relevant original sources of information, he has made the best use of the published works and has on the whole taken a judicious and well-balanced view of the character and achievements of the various personalities. The accounts are lucid and attractive; they are bound to be useful particularly for the non-professional student of history.

The Governors-General chosen are: Warren Hastings, Wellesley, Moira (Lord Hastings), Bentinck, Dalhousie, Canning, Ripon, Curzon, Minto, Chelmsford, Irwin, Willingdon, Linlithgow, Wavell and Mountbatten. There is a concluding chapter which deals with the political and economic developments that have taken place in the country since Independence.

Apart from the ideas which are commonplace, the following facts stressed by the author about certain of the Governors-General are well worth noting. Warren Hastings was fascinated by the antiquity and excellence of Indian Culture, and he did the best he could for the promotion of the ancient culture of the land. Wellesley was a stout annexationist but he cared little for the welfare of the Indian people. It is doubtful 'whether during his seven years' stay in this country, he ever stumbled upon an entity called the Indian people'. (p. 91) Moira, like Sir Thomas Munro, had the shrewdness and far-sightedness to realise that a day would come when England would grant India freedom. He looked forward to a 'time not very remote when England will....wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede'. (p. 120).

Lord Dalhousie has not received the treatment he deserves. Though the account of his annexations and reforms is elaborate, a critical assessment of his place among the builders of British India is lacking. The causes of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 are examined in the section under Lord Canning; they should have found a place more appropriately under Dalhousie.

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Sri Kulkarni is less than just to Lord Ripon when he states that "Ripon has been wrongly described as the father of local self-governing institutions in India" (p. 204). There is little doubt that though local bodies had been in existence before his time it was he who tried to place them on a democratic footing. Nor is the author's final assessment of this noble Viceroy's term of office acceptable. "Ripon's Viceroyalty is indeed memorable, not for any outstanding achievement, but for its magnificent failure" (p. 214).

Perhaps one of the pitiable Governors-General in the series was Lord Minto who merely played a negative role to Morley, the scholarly Secretary of State for India. Lady Minto pathetically complained how Morley was becoming more and more autocratic and exacting. Minto gave an undue encouragement to the communal aspirations of the Muslims. In fact the author holds that "Minto's policy of stimulating the separate tendencies of the Muslims thus bore fruit in the shape of India's partition". (p. 275).

Lord Chelmsford could not influence the trend of events in any considerable measure. 'According to no standard of appraisal could Chelmsford be called a competent man' (p. 282). He was dominated by the permanent civil servants.

Though Lord Linlithgow was not a forceful personality he was a well meaning person. Though he was engrossed in the war effort, he sought with integrity and honesty of purpose to find a way out of the tangle of Hindu-Muslim tension. It is too sweeping on the part of the author to say that Linlithgow's contribution to the country 'during these fateful (seven) years was blood, tears, hunger and death'. (p. 420)

K. K. PILLAY

A MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA, by Percival Spear. Published by Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

It is desirable to have books on Indian history and politics written by competent scholars of other countries. Though there is always something to be said in favour of our own scholars writing with true insight on these subjects, enabling us to see ourselves in the proper light, there is no less a need for others to bring to bear their detached outlook on the study of our country.

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Percival Spear, by his learning and intimate knowledge of Indian affairs, is well qualified to undertake a study of the modern history of India. His purpose is 'to portray the transformation of India under the impact of the West into a modern nation state'. But rightly he contends that the present cannot be understood without a reference to the basic currents of India's history. In fact, he has chosen to devote a considerable part of his book to the study of the early institutions and aspects of Indian thought.

He commences the study with an assessment of the influence of geography on the history of the land. Besides stressing the oft-repeated emphasis on the influence of the Himalayas, the seas and the rivers, he shows the geographical features of the various parts of India have also exercised their distinct influences. "In the south and Bengal the tropic conditions have endowed these areas with natural products and made them marts of commerce while limiting the energies and physique of the people. In the north the more bracing air has nurtured hardier races, which the rich soil has maintained.' (p. 6).

Writing about the peoples of India he shows how the men of Uttar Pradesh 'are modern India's managers par excellence.' (p. 16). Bengal, Gujarat and Maharashtra have made distinct contributions to the building up of India. In the south, the Tamils have the longest cultural tradition, stretching back prior to the Christian era, and the most highly developed language. The Tamilians are noted for their powers of intellect and memory, their combination of modern knowledge and orthodox ways, and their love of English.' (p. 17).

An account of the early cultures of India, beginning with the Indus Valley civilisation, follows. The author of the book is inclined to think that the Indus Valley culture was overthrown by the invading Aryans, but the evidence for this conclusion is by no means positive.

A brief description of the Vedic and Epic Ages is followed by a survey of the fundamental features of Hinduism. Caste and the joint family which have become distinctive institutions of Hinduism receive the attention they richly deserve. The merits and defects of these age-long institutions are examined and a balanced estimate is provided.

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An account of the peaks of history follows, where the age of Asoka, the Golden age of the Guptas, the period of the Afghan rulers and the Mughals is succeeded by a more detailed survey of the Western contact with India. Part III of the book deals with the British conquest and rule of India. Though the treatment of the history down to 1857 is more or less of the traditional type, in the course of his survey he makes certain observations which are open to question. For instance, he holds that "the mutiny of 1857 can in some respects be regarded as a delayed-action response to his (Bentinck's) measures". (p. 259). This betrays a misreading of the fundamental causes for the Mutiny on the one hand and an exaggeration of the influence of Bentinck's reform on the other.

The most interesting portion of the Book is found in Part IV which deals with Modern India. Much of it is current history and his assessment of the personalities of recent times, some of whom are still happily with us, are at once interesting and well-balanced. In particular, the chapter entitled 'Nehru's India' is infused by deep insight and true understanding. Jawaharlal Nehru's career, policy and magnetic influence over Indians are all skilfully portrayed. The author's observation that 'Nehru could do everything except work with an equal or train a successor' (p. 436) is bold and provocative, but, none the less true to facts. Again, it is impossible to quarrel with his statement that 'Nehru is a man in a hurry and that he wants to create a modern and prosperous India in his own life time:' (p. 438).

The impact of Western education and institutions on modern Indian thought and life is systematically assessed in the concluding chapter. Among the contributions of the Western contact he indicates (1) the development of a sense of order and regulation in the political sphere; (2) the promotion of Western education, including modern science and (3) the weakening of the fetters of caste and other social barriers through the indiret influence of education and transport.

On the whole, the author has succeeded in producing a thought-provoking book written in an eminently readable style. The Notes, Suggested Readings, Glossary and Index are all useful. The 'Suggested Readings' contain critical evaluation of the prominent works in the field. The get-up of the book is excellent.

K. K. PILLAY.

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BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR AND LADAKH by J. N. Ganhar, M.A. and P. N. Ganhar, M.A., pp. 245. Bibliography and Index. Illustrations.

The authors divide their book into four parts dealing with Buddha and his gospel, Buddhism in Kashmir, Buddhism in Ladakh and the present position. After going through the book under review I like to draw the authors' attention to some points. As to the identification of Kapilavastu given by the authors (p. I), it may be stated that the famous Rummindei Pillar marks the site of the ancient Lumbinī garden, the traditional scene of Śākyamuni's birth. V. A. Smith identifies it with Piprawa in the north of the Basti district of the Nepal frontier. Rhys Davids takes Tilaura kot to be the old Kapilavastu. Tilaura, two miles north of Tauliva, is the headquarters of the provincial government of Tarai, and 3½ miles to the south-west of the Nepalese village of Nigliva, north of Gorakhpur, situated in the Nepal Tarai. Rummindei is only 10 miles to the east of Kapilavastu and 2 miles north of Bhagavānapura.

Tathāgata (p. 1) which is the epithet of the Buddha Gautama means "one who goes in like manner". The *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Pt. I, pp. 59-68), which is the commentary of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka* gives the reasons for calling the Master as the *Tathāgata*: (1) He has come in the same way. (2) He has gone in the same way. (3) He is endowed with the sign of true characteristics of four elements, sky, consciousness, form, sensation, perception, confection, discursive thought, decisive thought, joy, happiness, and emancipation. (4) He has realised four sublime truths, suffering, its origin, its cessation, and the path leading to its cessation. He has also realised dependent origination. (5) He has seen all the forms including four elements produced by the combination of four elements in the human world as well as in the celestial world. He has heard, touched, tasted and thought of all in existence in both the worlds. (6) What he has preached from the time of his enlightenment till his passing away is complete and perfect in meaning and exposition and to the point and leading to the destruction of passion, hatred and delusion. (7) He is true to his speech and bodily action. (8) He overcomes everything commencing from the highest *Brahmaloka* to the *Avīci* hell, etc. Here *he* refers to the *Buddha*.

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The authors' meaning of the *Tathāgata* is inadequate and incorrect. Besides the *Tathāgata* there are many other epithets of the Buddha as *Sugata, Jina, Dharmacakrapravartaka, Vināyaka, Sārathī, Mārga-kovida, Sudaiṣika, Śalyoddhārkartā, Śokasya hartā saraṇāgatānāṃ śokasyakartā pratigarvitānāṃ,* etc. All such terms are used by Aśvaghoṣa in relation to the Buddha (vide my *Aśvaghoṣa* published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 69). Kern is perfectly right in his opinion that many *Tathāgatas* mentioned in Mahāyāna literature are lumped together with others of later invention (*Indian Buddhism,* p. 63).

According to the authors the Buddha passed away in 483 B.C. (p. 5). This date is unacceptable. There are many dates assigned to his death. Some hold 543 B.C. and some are in favour of 478 B.C. (Vide *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. xliii, October, 1914, pp. 197 ff.; vide also V. A. Smith's *Early History of India,* 4th Ed., pp. 49 and 49 n). The authors should not rely on uncertainty.

The *Paṭhama-dhammadesanā* (first discourse—p. 8) is the *Dhammacakkapavattana sutta.* The main text of this discourse shows a complete agreement in all its various recensions. Its main subject-matter is the Middle Path which is another name for the Noble eight-fold path consisting of right faith, right aspiration, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort or exertion, right mindfulness or recollection, and right meditation or concentration. It is called the Middle Path because it seeks to avoid these two extremes (*dveantā*): (1) the habitual pursuit of the pleasures of the senses which is a low and vulgar way of seeking satisfaction, unworthy, unprofitable and fit only for the worldlyminded, and (2) the accredited practice of self-mortification which is painful, unworthy and unprofitable. It formulates and expounds the four noble truths (*Samyutta,* V, 420 ff.; *Vinaya Mahāvagga,* 10 ff.). According to the *Peṭakopadesa* all that the Buddha taught or promulgated for the attainment of Buddhahood till his demise were epitomized in this *sutta* (*Dhammacakkapavattana sutta*). Such was precisely the view of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism according to Vasumitra (*Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University,* I, p. 6).

The presentation of the Path formula was quite possible and it would have been more consistent and welcome in the First dis-

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course, if the Middle Path were its main subject-matter. The tradition of the first discourse seems to be a later got up thing with some romantic appendages. The authors ought to have made these points clear. What we read in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, 174-175, 167-168 and *Vinaya Mahāvagga,* 40) about the first discourse should not have escaped the attention of the authors.

Dharma is moral law according to the authors (p. 7). They have called it Gospel (p. 8). They are not right in their explanation or meaning. *Dharma* means nature, condition, quality, property, characteristic, function, practice, duty, object, idea, doctrine, law, virtue, piety, justice, etc. Law here means law or truth of the Buddha. Dharma means the efforting and fruition stages of the elect culminating in *nibbāna.* It is *satya.* It stands for principle of justice and sphere of conduct in conformity with the established custom, the disregard of or departure from which is punishable by law (vide my *Concepts of Buddhism,* Chap. X). As regards *Karma* and *Nirvāṇa* much more accurate ideas are found in my articles Nos. 30 and 31 published in the *Cultural Heritage of India,* (I, pp. 537-546; 547-558).

Taṇhā or *Triṣṇā* is selfish desire according to authors (p. 8). But it really means lust, desire, human passion, craving, thirst for pleasures of sense, for existence and non-existence (*nirvāṇa*). It is one of the links of dependent origination.

The authors' identification of *Kaliṅga* in p. 19 is incorrect. Kaliṅganagara has been identified with modern Kaliṅgapaṭaṃ at the mouth of the Vaṃśadharā river or Mukhaliṅgaṃ near Chicacole. Mukhaliṅgam is a place of pilgrimage, 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district (*Ep. Ind.,* XXIII, Pt II, April, 1935, p. 76). The ancient Kaliṅga country seems to have comprised modern Orissa to the south of the Vaitaraṇī river and the seacoast southwards as far as Ganjam district.

Caitya (p. 21 f.n.) means not only a Buddhist temple but also something else. In its most common sense it has come to mean a shrine associated with Buddhism. It really means a sacred spot or an edifice or sanctuary meant for public worship. Sir Charles Eliot has rightly said that in the Buddhist *Piṭakas Cetiya* or *Caitya* means a popular shrine unconnected with either Buddhist or Brahmanical ceremonial, some times merely a sacred tree or stone

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probably honoured by such simple rites as decorating it with paint or flowers (*Hinduism and Buddhism,* II, 171) Jaina Caityas are not as big as the Buddhist but in other respects the Jaina shrine resembles the Buddhist very strongly (Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism,* p. 280). I must draw authors' attention to my note on *Cetiya in Buddhist Literature* published in *Studia Indo-Iranica Ehrengabe fur W. Geiger,* 1931.

Abhidhamma (p. 33) does not include metaphysics only but it treats of higher doctrine, transcendental doctrine. It implies metaphysical as opposed to moral doctrine as Childers puts it. For a dear meaning vide my *History of Pali Literature,* (II, pp. 303-304).

Hiuen Tsang's account of Kashmir is interesting and the authors are greatly indebted to him in writing out the Chapter X of their book. The authors could profiatbly utilise the exhaustive work of Sir Charles Eliot entitled *Hinduism and Buddhism* in three volumes, for their account of Buddhism in Kashmir, though scattered in many places. The authors' account of Buddhism in Kashmir is not properly presented. It is well-known that Aśoka's practical idealism and proselytising zeal backed by the entire machinery of Maurya administration, should be considered as the cause of raising Buddhism to the status of an all-India faith. Aśoka fully realised the true spirit of rationality and human greatness. He found it clearly set forth in the invaluable teachings of the Buddha. His dedication to a humanised culture was an indirect service to Buddhism. His claim of *Dhammavijaya* was not after all an empty hoax. Since his aggressive Kaliṅga war he wholeheartedly devoted himself to the task of propagating the law of the Master within the four corners of his realm and outside. It was he who gave to Buddhism a national as well as an international character. He spread Buddhism in Nepal and Kashmir and other places. The Elder Majjhantika was sent to Kashmir and Gandhara for the propagation of Buddhism. According to northern tradition Mahādeva's field of activity was in Kashmir. In the three centuries between the death of Aśoka and the reign of Kaniṣka who was also a devout Buddhist, Buddhism steadily established itself almost everywhere in the north inspite of direct and indirect opposition by individuals or dynasties of kings; the Śuṅgas, for example, were not favourably disposed

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towards Buddhism. Archaeological sources together with the literary accounts as those, for example, in the *Rājataraṅginī* prove that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Kashmir, Kabul and north-western India. The great patron of Buddhism in the 7th century A.D. was Harṣavardhan, the king of Kanauj, who forcibly secured from Kashmir the tooth-relic of the Buddha which he enshrined in a monastery built by him to the west of Kanauj.

According to Hiuen Tsang Buddhism greatly flourished from Kashmir and Nepal to the Cōḷa country in the south. In Kashmir and in the south the Buddhist *Saṅgha* (Church) was powerful although Śaivism was flourishing. I have dealt with this interesting topic of Buddhism and its expansion in India and outside in my *Indological Studies,* Pt. II (1952), pp. 165-215.

Regarding *Sarvāstivāda* referred to by the authors in p. 23, it is the doctrine that all things are real. A *Bodhisatta* (p. 32) is one who is destined to be a Buddha. This term is applied to a Buddha in his various states of existence previous to his attainment of enlightenment. A careful study of the *Jātakas* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka* will make the matter clear to the authors. It is wrong to say that Bodhisatta is a Mahayana conception.

Ladakh or Ladag, a province in Kashmir, chiefly belongs to the valley of the upper Indus in West Tibet. Several lakes in east districts are connected with the river systems of the country. Leh is the capital of Ladakh and the road from Leh to Śrīnagara lies up the Sindh valley to the sources of the river at the Zoji La Pass in the Zaskar range. From Leh there are many routes into Tibet. The average rain and snow fall is only 2·7 inches in the year. Various kinds of fruits are available, e.g., mulberry, apricot, apple. Irrigation is well managed. Principal products are wheat, barley, millet, peas, bean turnip, etc. Domestic animals are the famous shawl goats, two kinds of sheep, yak, wild ass, antelope, hare, etc.

The adjoining territory of Baltistan forms the western extremity of Tibet.

The earliest notice of Ladakh is by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, who found Buddhism flourishing there. Ladakh formed

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part of the Tibetan empire till the 10th century A.D. In the 17th century A.D. it was invaded by the Muslim neighbours of Baltistan. The book under review closes with an account of Kashmir and Ladakh till the modern age.

The book has been written for the general public and not for scholars. It is informative and no doubt useful to lay readers. Almost all the statements of the authors are not documented. Some are documented but without any pagination.

The Bibliography is not exhaustive. The authors ought to have noticed the famous book of Sir Charles Eliot entitled Hinduism and Buddhism in 3 volumes. The text of the *Milinda-Pañho,* which is not included into the Sacred Books of the East Series, has been edited by V. Trenckner and not Rhys Davids. It has been translated into English by T. W. Rhys Davids in the S. B. E. Series under the caption "The Questions of Milinda". It is a serious error which needs rectification in the future edition. As far as I have seen two more errors should have been noticed under *Errata. Patliputra* (pp. 23 and 30) and *Majjahantika* (p. 19) should be read Pāṭaliputra and Majjhantika respectively.

B. C. Law.

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD (*Smaraka Samputamu*), Telugu translation of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Memorial Volume, edited by Prof. Humayun Kabir, rendered into Telugu by Dr. D. Venkatavadhani, Reader in Telugu, Osmania University, Hyderabad; published by Abul Kalam Azad Oriental Research Institute, Hyderabad, 1962; 361 pp.; Rs. 4/50.

This is a handy readable translation of an important English book on the personality of the late Maulana Azad, and the Azad Oriental Research Institute is to be congratulated on its publication. It is a matter of satisfaction that the book has been separately translated into Urdu as well. The original work is a co-operative venture and the pride of place naturally falls on our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's speech which he delivered while moving the condolence resolution in the Lok Sabha. The articles included in the volume belong to a number of categories. Some of them deal directly with Maulana Sahib's per-

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sonality, such as those of Prime Minister Nehru, Rashtrapati Radhakrishnan, Shaikh al-Bakouri, Lord Pethic Lawrence, Louis Massignon, Acharya Kriplani, Dr. Syed Mahmood, P. Subbaroyan, Rafiuddin Ahmad, Saeed Naficy, Prof. Humayun Kabir, Prof. Habib, J. C. Ghosh, Dr. S. A. Latif and Prof. Mujeeb; some others deal with the India that Maulana Sahib knew, such as Dr. Tarachand's article entitled *India and the West;* there is then a third category of articles which have very little bearing on Maulana Sahib's life but are enunciations of the author's own predilections, such as Malcolm Macdonald's and Horace Alexander's articles which are mainly on bird-watching; while the remaining three articles, viz., Rajaji's *The Ptolemaic Error,* A. A. A. Fyzee's *Racapitulation of Islam,* M. C. Chagla's *Constitution of India* and A. R. Wadia's *Sociology of Languages,* can be linked to Maulana Sahib's personality or his thought only by a fairly elastic stretch of imagination.

While the Telugu translation is good and accurate the transliteration of Arabic words and Muslim names is not always correct. Thus invariably Ahmad is rendered as Ahmmad, Mahmood as Mahammadu and Bakuri as Bakari. This could easily have been avoided as the work was being translated under the auspices of the Azad Institute which has no dearth of Arabic and Persian scholars working in it. Again there are a number of Persian poems and Quranic verses which have been translated, and it would have enhanced the value of the translation if they had been referred to in original in the footnotes, especially as there are still many Telugu speaking scholars who can appreciate the beauty of original Arabic and Persian. Unfortunately there is no page reference in the table of contents, and the reader has to turn page after page to find out an author's name or the subject of his article, and the difficulty is further enhanced by the absence of these on the top of the pages of the book.

These are, however, minor matters. For those who would like to study the personality of Maulana Sahib as depicted by some of great thinkers, in the Telugu language, this volume would be found to be of absorbing interest.

H. K. Sherwani.

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SHAYKH FARĪD BHAKKARĪ, *DHAKHĪRAT AL-KHAWĀNĪN*, Persian Text, edited by Dr. Syed Moinul Haq, General Secretary and Director of Research, Pakistan Historical Society. Vol. I, Karachi, 1961; Rs. 18.

Ever since the rise of Islam as a world philosophy and a world power the Arabic language has led the way in biographical dictionaries, two of the earliest being the *Tabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd and *Usud al-Ghbah* of Ibn Athīr. The need for such compositions first arose when Muslim canonical historians began to probe into the lives of the Companions of the Prophet. Later the trend was carried on by purely secular biographers such as Qiftī who wrote on the biographies of learned men and philosophers of Islam, Yāqūt whose vast biographical dictionary deals with litterateurs, and Hādjī Khalfā who dealt with practically all branches of literature. With the rise of Persian literature the Arabic tradition was faithfully followed and such biographical dictionaries made their appearance as al-Faḍlī's *Āthār al-Wuzarā* and'Attā's *Tadhkirat al-Awliya*. The theme was naturally taken up by Indo-Persian authors, and the book under review is an instance of such scholarship.

Although Farīd was a Sindhi he saw service in almost all the parts of the Mughal Empire. He was born in the last decade of the tenth century A.H., and the last entry in this compendium is dated 1061/1651, so that his life covered the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The present volume deals with the first part of the work, namely the biographies of eminent men of the reign of Akbar the Great. Farīd was a linguist of some distinction and seems to have been well up in Persian, Arabic, Pushtu and Hindi besides his mother-tongue, Sindhi. He held high office at Lucknow and in Bihar and in 1610 he was appointed an officer in the army sent to the Deccan under Khān-i Jahān Lodi. When Khān Jahān rebelled against Shah Jahan, Farīd remained faithful to the Empire. In 1040/1630 he was put on the staff of Mahābat Khān and was a personal witness of many of Mahābat Khān's exploits in the Deccan. He became the *amin* and *Mīr Bakhshī* of Bīr, now the headquarters of a district of Maharashtra. We do not know the date of his death, but he was definitely alive in 1651.

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In the part of the *Dhakhirah* now published are given the life histories (some at considerable length, others only sketchy) of 186 "Khans" of Akbar's reign. It should be noted that the word "Khan" in this context does not mean a Paṭhān or a "Khān" according to the present connotation, as the author has included in this category such nobles of Akbar's court as Raja Bahārā Mal, Raja Bhagwān Dās, Raja Mān Singh and others who were neither Paṭhāns nor yet Muslims. The author was present in many of the campaigns which he has described with meticulous care and was conversant with many masterpieces of literature which he has mentioned. He was in the Deccan for a number of years and throws considerable light on the conquest of Ahmadnagar and the pourparlers between the Mughals and Chānd Bībī, and is rich about the information regarding 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān and Mahābāt Khān. Faiẓī, whose aspersions about the remaining kingdoms of the Deccan are fairly well known, is said to be a failure as the Mughal Resident at Burhānpūr. It is strange that our author calls Chānd Bībī "the wife of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk", although she was a princess of Ahmadnagar but married to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur. In spite of one or two such lapses the book is a valuable collection of the biographies of the nobles and eminent men of Akbar's reign.

The learned editor has prefaced the book with an informative Introduction. He says there are only two known manuscripts of the work, one in the library of the Pakistan Historical Society and the other in the possession of the Pakistan Ānjuman Taraqqi Urdu. The former manuscript originally belonged to "Chanda Bībī", otherwise known as Māh Laqā Bāi, a famous courtesan of the reign of Niẓām 'Alī Khān, Asaf Jāh II of Hyderabad (certainly not Chand Bībī of the Ahmadnagar fame). It is a great service done to a research scholar of the period that the learned editor has taken pains to bring out this part, and it is hoped that the other parts would soon follow.

Unfortunately, while the book is so well printed on fine paper (though not strongly bound), it has got many typographical mistakes. It is hoped that greater care would be taken to correct the proofs when the next two parts are brought out.

H. K. SHERWANI

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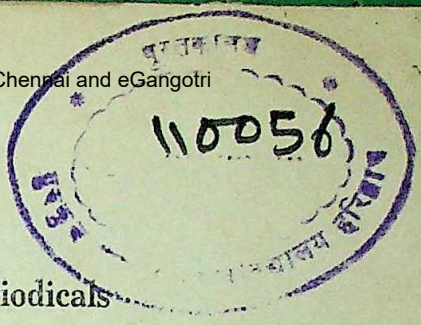

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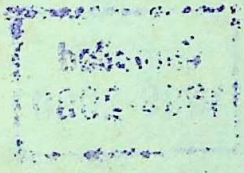

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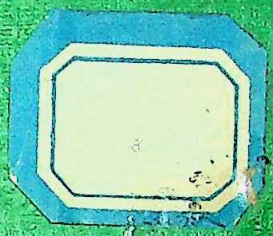

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